

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

HISTORY IV

1964

This Dissertation is submitted as part requirement for  
the Degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours in the University  
of Tasmania.

Peter Bolger,  
July 1964.

JOHN MORGAN

COLONIAL MIDDLE CLASS RECRUIT

\*\*\*

Peter Bolger,  
July 1964.

UNIVERSITY OF TASMANIA

HISTORY IV

1964

This Dissertation is submitted as part requirement for  
the Degree of Bachelor of Arts with Honours in the University  
of Tasmania.

Peter Bolger,  
July 1964.

JOHN MORGAN

COLONIAL MIDDLE CLASS RECRUIT

---

Peter Bolger,  
July 1964.

JOHN MORGAN - COLONIAL MIDDLE CLASS RECRUIT

C O N T E N T S

	<u>page</u>
Introduction	
The Life of Lieutenant John Morgan ...	1
Changing Ideas on Man and Society ...	13
Changing Ideas on Man and Religion ...	33
Changing Ideas on Man and Government ...	46
Conclusion ...	65
Bibliography	

## INTRODUCTION

During the 1840's the clamour of dissatisfaction from the free settlers in the colonies of Australia caused many an eyebrow to lift at Westminster. It was hard to appreciate how British people a few years removed from their homeland could get themselves in such a turmoil when the issues seen from London seemed so clear cut. When it was more or less decided to give the colonists the independent institutions they seemed to want so much, Earl Grey, Secretary of State for the Colonies, requested Lieutenant Governor Denison of Van Diemen's Land to send home a description of the sort of people these colonists really were.

Denison had very decided opinions. His term of office had been one long compromise between colonial aspirations and Colonial Office instructions. His two main problems had been the reconstituting of the Legislative Council after the popular resignations of those who were called the Patriotic Six and the threat to the validity of his authority by the colonial judiciary. This latter episode was perhaps the more worrying. Denison admitted it had shaken his government to the very centre.<sup>1</sup> It had brought him a sharp rebuke from the Secretary of State for the Colonies and within a few votes of censure in a bitter Parliamentary debate.<sup>2</sup> The immediate cause of the crisis was the insistence of a Hobart Town journalist, Mr. John Morgan, on the inability of the Colonial Government to levy taxes. His principle

---

<sup>1</sup> Britannia, 21.12.48.

<sup>2</sup> " 2.8.49.

was supported by the Supreme Court Judges in a test case which threatened the validity of many other colonial measures.

In describing the colonists to Earl Grey there can be little doubt that John Morgan was one whose character Denison had in mind when he wrote:-

"There is an essentially democratic spirit which actuates the large mass of the community ... When we see the low estimate that is placed upon everything which can distinguish a man from his fellows, with the sole exception of wealth - when we see that even wealth does not lead to distinction or open the road to any other ambition but that of excelling in habits of self-indulgence - it can hardly be the subject of surprise that so few are found who rise above the general level or that those few owe more to the possession of a certain oratorical facility than to their powers of mind or the justness of the opinions which they advocate."<sup>3</sup>

Besides these specific indictments Denison was laying on the colonists, he was also implying that these men were noticeably more radical and more democratic than their brothers and cousins in Britain. This leads to the interesting question of the nature of the process by which, in a comparatively few years, the emigrants developed a characteristic set of opinions and attitudes and of how these really differed from contemporary British ideas.

Fortunately the answers to these questions can be sought in the case of John Morgan as his opinions are given in publications over the period from his residence in Britain until thirty years later when he was well settled into colonial life. This paper sets out to describe Morgan's life story as briefly as possible and then to examine the changes in his attitudes to the world, adopting the same

---

<sup>3</sup>Britannia, Supplement, 8.9.49.

three sections into which Morgan himself believed life could be divided - society, religion and politics.<sup>4</sup> Through his experience it should be possible to trace the way one Englishman's ideas were altered by the colonial environment.

---

<sup>4</sup>Britannia, 15.7.47.



THE LIFE OF LIEUTENANT JOHN MORGAN

When John Morgan enlisted in the Royal Marines on 25th July 1812 he gave the year of his birth as 1792. Nothing is known of his education or the influence which was used to secure for him a commission. He was detailed to join a brigade of Marines returning from the Baltic and with it saw service in the Peninsula. Later he served at Bermuda and in the landing on the shores of the Chesapeake in the United States. He ended his active service amidst the dark forests and lakes of Upper Canada where he was slightly wounded in the battle for Oswego in the winter of 1814.<sup>1</sup>

Returning to Britain on half pay he lived in London for a while and became a friend of John Quincy Adams, United States ambassador in London between 1815 and 1817.<sup>2</sup> Some time after this Morgan moved to South Wales to manage a mining venture in which he seems to have had some capital invested.<sup>3</sup>

However, he was soon dissatisfied with life in Britain and with his Welsh wife, Rebecca, and his children, Rebecca, aged 6, and James, aged 5,<sup>4</sup> he took ship for Canada in 1823.<sup>5</sup> This attempt was foiled by the illness of his wife whilst the ship was held up in the Channel by contrary winds and the Morgan family returned to try farming at Loughor, Glamorgan, between Llanelly and Swansea.<sup>6</sup> Morgan temporarily satisfied his spirit of adventure by preparing a large scale map of Upper and Lower Canada and by writing his Emigrant's notebook and

---

<sup>1</sup> Humble Memorial

<sup>2</sup> Britannia, 4.4.50.

<sup>3</sup> CSO.5.59.1323

<sup>4</sup> Colebatch, p.28.

<sup>5</sup> Humble Memorial

<sup>6</sup> Microfilm Reel 936, CO.323/130 folio 238, letter to R.W.Hay, 15.11.1828.

Guide with recollections of Upper and Lower Canada during the late war.<sup>7</sup>

In this book he reviews all likely places for British emigrants to settle and reaches the conclusion that Canada is incomparably the finest. To carry this conviction into practical effect, in 1826 he obtained the Agency in Swansea for the Canada Company and during the first years was kept extremely busy facilitating the passage of migrants to settle on the lands of the Company in Upper Canada.<sup>8</sup> However, his payment was evidently on commission for during 1828 he was complaining that the Agency was not returning much pecuniary advantage and that in his farming he had bought his mistakes dearly.<sup>9</sup>

He sought an introduction to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, R. W. Hay, via a mutual friend<sup>10</sup> and found himself recommended for the post of Government Storekeeper in the proposed new colony of Swan River at £200 per annum, a position he immediately accepted.<sup>11</sup> At the end of the long voyage to Australia the first transport, the "Parmelia", suffered a minor shipwreck outside the entrance to the Swan River and stores and settlers were landed in confusion on nearby Garden Island. Here Morgan assumed his charge of the scattered stores whilst building a house for his family. Guardianship of the stores became easier after everyone else was moved on to the mainland and the Morgan family lived in splendid isolation on the island. They kept a small vegetable patch and,

---

<sup>7</sup>Humble Memorial

<sup>8</sup>" "

<sup>9</sup>Microfilm Reel 936, folio 238,  
letter to R.W.Hay, 15.11.1828.

<sup>10</sup>Microfilm Reel 294, folio 251,  
letter to R.W.Hay, 12.1.1829

<sup>11</sup>Humble Memorial

living so close to the stores, had comparative plenty as Morgan ran up a large debt over his £200 salary in the allocation of stores to his own use.<sup>12</sup>

Despite Morgan's pessimism about the suitability of the land for a colony, on which matter he, of course, considered himself well versed, being the author of a book about Colonial settlement, he did rather well for himself in the first two years, gaining a grant of 3,000 acres on the Canning River and acquiring property of 2,000 acres nearer to Perth<sup>13</sup> with four town allotments.<sup>14</sup>

Yet all was not well with the new colony where food shortage became extreme during the droughts of 1832 and 1833<sup>15</sup> and to help keep off starvation Morgan, as the Government storekeeper, supplied food on credit<sup>16</sup> and on the promissary notes of Peter Brown, the Colonial Secretary, whilst Governor Stirling was in England seeking assistance.<sup>17</sup> As the stores became depleted and there was no replenishment the approaching redundancy of the storekeeper was saved by Morgan's appointment as Resident Magistrate at Perth and as Acting Colonial Barrack Master at no extra salary.<sup>18</sup> He could see no future in the Swan River Colony and was overjoyed when his requests for a change were answered by his appointment by Lord Glenelg as Police Magistrate, Deputy Chairman of Quarter Sessions, Commissioner for the Court of Requests and Coroner for the district of Richmond in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>19</sup> Morgan considered his star was in the

<sup>12</sup> Microfilm Reel 296, folio 327,  
<sup>13</sup> letter to R.W.Hay, 18.3.30.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid*

<sup>15</sup> CSO.1.840.17798

<sup>16</sup> Colebatch, p.61.

<sup>16</sup> CSO.1.840.17786

<sup>17</sup> Humble Memorial

<sup>18</sup> *ibid*

<sup>19</sup> *ibid*

ascendant at last; he could not know it had passed its zenith and his hopes were to suffer a long and painful decline. He closed his books on 31st December 1833, ceased to draw pay in April<sup>20</sup> and left on the next available boat for Hobart Town - the "Eagle" - sailing in November 1834,<sup>21</sup> well knowing that he was £800 in debt to the public purse<sup>22</sup> and mortgaged to more than the market value on all of his property at the Swan River.<sup>23</sup>

He stated later that he had always fully intended to return home within a short time and explain his indebtedness.<sup>24</sup> He had been rather unlucky in that his department had born the brunt of the colony's distress. He had had to choose whether to see people starve or to issue stores on doubtful credit.<sup>25</sup> The lack of currency had brought the issue of promissory notes which Morgan had firmly believed would be met by the Treasury but which never were.<sup>26</sup> Yet by the standards of his chosen profession he had been a poor store-keeper; he could not produce security for many issues and must meet their value himself. He was always wont to act to the spirit rather than to the letter and optimistically expected his superiors also to be so broad minded. He never recovered from the discovery that they were not.

He was unemployed from 30th April 1834 until 31st October when, on embarkation, he was due to be paid at half the new rate of £300 per annum. An application for an advance of salary of £200 was sympathetically received by Lieutenant Governor Arthur<sup>27</sup> and, despite

<sup>20</sup> Humble Memorial  
<sup>21</sup> CSO.1.689.15178  
<sup>22</sup> Humble Memorial  
<sup>23</sup> GO.1.25.302

<sup>24</sup> Humble Memorial  
<sup>25</sup> ibid  
<sup>26</sup> Butlin, p.383  
<sup>27</sup> CSO.1.689.15178

the fact that Morgan still complained of poverty, he purchased a farm worth £600 in April 1835<sup>28</sup> and a town block in Richmond from David Lord.<sup>29</sup>

News of his indebtedness soon arrived and Arthur reacted promptly, realising that he had compromised his own position by making the advance of salary. He demanded it be returned. Morgan promised to pay within the month. Arthur demanded it immediately and Morgan borrowed the money from a John Dobson and repaid it at Christmas 1835.<sup>30</sup>

Arthur had decided that the debt to the public purse would be repaid by the deduction of half Morgan's salary and refused a request to delay the deduction.<sup>31</sup> Morgan thereupon resigned his post as Police Magistrate saying he could not live on the remaining £150 per annum.<sup>32</sup> At the same time he sold his farm at Richmond but apparently stayed on as a tenant. This move was to clear himself of any property which could be seized to repay the debt.<sup>33</sup> A report made by the Attorney General at the Government's request showed that Morgan's assets were now nil and that action against him would be futile.<sup>34</sup>

In resigning Morgan wrote that after 23 years in the service for so little purpose he now wished to rely only upon Providence and his own exertions. He had now no ambition beyond a quiet and sufficient provision for his own family. He was disgusted with the Swan River affair and wanted to "steer clear of similar unpleasanties" by settling permanently on the land at Richmond with his Coronership

<sup>28</sup> CSO.1.840.17798

<sup>29</sup> Hobart Town Advertiser, 5.4.39.

<sup>30</sup> CSO.1.689.15178

<sup>31</sup> CSO.1.840.17786

<sup>32</sup> ibid

<sup>33</sup> GO.1.25.302.

<sup>34</sup> CSO.1.840.17786.

and his Honorary Magistracy.<sup>35</sup> This independent idealism lasted for only seven months. By September 1836 he had found farm life too frugal, the rewards too few, and he wrote his first of many letters seeking a return to the Civil Service, this one an application to take over George Robinson's position as protector of the aborigines on Flinders Island.<sup>36</sup> For the ensuing 27 years Morgan wrote very many appeals for official appointments and received the same reply implicit in every one. No employment was available for a debtor. Later when he was making himself thoroughly objectionable to the Governors he still spritely imagined that the bad feeling existed only at a theoretical level in his press relations and ingenuously applied for official appointments from men who detested him as a trouble maker.<sup>37</sup>

Morgan had hoped that if he kept quiet about his Royal Marine half pay it would bank up for him in England, despite the fact that in theory the half pay would lapse if he did not renew his leave of absence. His hopes were dashed when a despatch to Arthur from a vigilant Treasury asked the local Government to find out why Morgan had not been heard of for some years as they wished to retain the half pay to clear his debt.<sup>38</sup> For twenty years he bought neither house nor land and invested his remaining capital in newspapers which seem to have generally aided him very well in his reluctance to make money as by September 1840 his solicitors were advertising his complete insolvency.<sup>39</sup> Morgan made a first serious approach towards earning a living from journalism in September 1838 when he wrote some articles for Bent's News. Later he broke off negotiations

<sup>35</sup> CSO.1.840.17798

<sup>36</sup> CSO.1.883.18705.

<sup>37</sup> Britannia, 13.9.49.

<sup>38</sup> CSO.5.59.1323.

<sup>39</sup> True Colonist, 25.9.40.

for that paper's editorship when he was refused complete freedom of expression.<sup>40</sup> Yet the idea of a journalistic career still appealed to him.

In the first issue of the Hobart Town Advertiser on 5th April 1839 John Morgan could proudly sign his name as Editor and this practice he continued, never allowing any of his work to be published anonymously and frequently referring to that practice as despicable. His interest in the Hobart Town Advertiser soon palled as its policy of blindly supporting Lieutenant Governor Franklin was distasteful to all his instincts.<sup>41</sup> After 22 issues he resigned and on 6th September he announced that he had bought the Tasmanian and, having renamed it the Tasmanian Weekly Despatch,<sup>42</sup> would be its Editor and Proprietor under the heading "Knowledge is Power". Soon he was rejoicing, "We act under our own opinions not upon those of others".<sup>43</sup>

This arrangement lasted until near the end of 1840 when the weakness of his credit forced him to sell out to J. McDougall, whilst retaining the freedom of editorship.<sup>44</sup> Yet this was still not a paying proposition; he mentions the "long ... vista of our book debts"<sup>45</sup> and at the end of June 1841, McDougall ended his engagement. Morgan somehow raised the capital to begin another paper which he called the Morning Advertiser and Colonial Maritime Journal ("Unawed and uninfluenced by either power or party"). The

<sup>40</sup> CSO.5.59.1323.

<sup>41</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch,  
11.10.39.

<sup>42</sup> Tasmanian, 6.9.39.

<sup>43</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, No.17,  
24.1.40.  
<sup>44</sup> " " " 18.9.40  
<sup>45</sup> " " " 4.6.41.

first issue was produced on 5th August 1841 and it lasted about 28 weeks, ending sometime in February 1842.

During the next four years Morgan was never very far from Hobart Town, as his regular applications for official employment show. It appears he must have been able to raise a little money from the various agencies his public position had enabled him to start. In 1839 he had founded, virtually single handed, the Hobart Town Licensed Victuallers' Society<sup>46</sup> and he acted as its Secretary until 1857. He performed various little services for the publicans, notably as agent in their property sales and as representative in their licensing applications.<sup>47</sup> He published two directories for their use in 1840 and 1847. In October 1839 he had been elected Secretary and Librarian of the Mechanics Institute<sup>48</sup> and he held this position for a year. In 1840 he had tried to start a Commercial & Agricultural Exchange<sup>49</sup> and on the strength of his Canada Company experience he started an Immigration Agency<sup>50</sup> and may have acted in this capacity when the ill timed flood of migrants arrived in the depths of the 1840's depression.

Despite this depression his finances were comparatively buoyant in 1846 when, with great enthusiasm, he launched into print once more in his most successful newspaper, the Britannia and Trades Advocate. From 1st January until 3rd September 1846 he announced to the world that he was Proprietor and Editor, but by the latter date the name of James Burnett appeared as Proprietor and Morgan

---

<sup>46</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 19.4.39.

<sup>47</sup>Britannia, 14.5.46.

<sup>48</sup>Courier, 11.10.39.

<sup>49</sup>Colonial Times, 4.8.40.

<sup>50</sup>Morning Advertiser, 12.8.41.



became once more merely an editor. His relationship with Burnett was unusually agreeable and lasted until 31st December 1850 when again Morgan was forced to retire from the hard competition to win subscribers. During the life of this newspaper Morgan reached the peak of his powers. He used the practice so common with his fellow editors of instructing everybody else how to run their lives or their country or the law courts or anything else, but in 1847 Morgan differed from most by actually going out and taking direct action to change what he did not like. Having decided that he objected to the paying of a dog licence he announced in his newspaper that he was breaking the law and intended to keep on doing so.<sup>51</sup> The provocation eventually caused a reluctant Government to act and he was summonsed, found guilty and fined on two counts.<sup>52</sup> On one he refused to pay, had his fire dogs removed by the bailiff to cover the amount of the fine, and sued the bailiff for trespass.<sup>53</sup> On the other count he appealed to the Supreme Court against his conviction.<sup>54</sup> Chief Justice Pedder and Puisne Judge Montague found in his favour that the Dog Act was repugnant to the Huskisson Act of England and consequently was invalid.<sup>55</sup> The decision involved, in principle, the invalidation of at least 15 other acts.<sup>56</sup> Denison, already displeased with Montagu for other reasons, dismissed him from his post after this affair and Chief Justice Pedder refused a suggestion to go on holiday for a while to allow the furore to die down.<sup>57</sup> Denison was left in a most

---

<sup>51</sup> Britannia, 2.9.47.  
<sup>52</sup> " 23.9.47.  
<sup>53</sup> " 7.10.47.  
<sup>54</sup> " 23.9.47.

<sup>55</sup> Britannia, 2.12.47.  
<sup>56</sup> " 9.3.48.  
<sup>57</sup> " 6.1.48.

uncomfortable position which was not made any the easier when he received a rebuke from Earl Grey for his interference with the Judiciary.<sup>58</sup>

Morgan was jubilant; his principles were upheld by the highest Court in the land. He could review with complacency a journalistic career of what he considered to be complete integrity and adherence to the highest of British liberal principles. "We openly acknowledge the gratification of having forced onward the cause of rational liberty",<sup>59</sup> "this birthright, this glorious inheritance from our forefathers".<sup>60</sup>

However, Morgan achieved little success or fame after this brief moment of glory and subscriber's support of the Britannia eventually dropped so much that by January 1851 he was once more unemployed. He published a few minor works during the fifties. Give Us Light in 1850 was a religious pamphlet as The Municipal Act of 1852 attempted to be a political one. He edited The Wreath - A Gardener's Manual in 1855 and in the same year produced his major work, The Life and Adventures of William Buckley, a narrative of an escaped convict's life with the aborigines of Port Phillip between 1803 and 1835.

Morgan attempted to reinstate his prestige with the Home Government by producing a Humble Memorial in 1849 and again in 1852, in which testimonials to his character from prominent citizens followed a description of the bad luck story of his life and an appeal for settlement of the outstanding debt. To this end he also found himself

---

<sup>58</sup>Britannia, 2.8.49.  
<sup>59</sup>" " 2.12.47.

<sup>60</sup>Britannia, 30.12.47.

a London agent, a Mr. L. W. Tear. In 1855 his appeal was answered in the affirmative, the debt was settled from accrued half pay, the balance was paid over to his agent and what was left of the land at Swan River was released from lien.<sup>61</sup> At the age of sixty four the name of John Morgan, Lieutenant Royal Marines, re-appears on the list of half pay officers after a break of twenty seven years and the worst of the penury was past.

In 1858 Morgan sailed for Albany and travelled overland to Perth<sup>62</sup> to see again the familiar places now developed out of all recognition. There he sold up what was left to him and took ship for Melbourne from Fremantle. The ship, possibly the "Anglesey", made a hard passage rounding Cape Leeuwin and somehow Morgan got himself so badly injured that after this time he could scarcely write.<sup>63</sup> Yet this did not stop him from importuning the new elective Assembly of Tasmania for land in the colony.<sup>64</sup> His right to a land grant as an emigrant officer had been maintained by him since 1834. Now, with his indebtedness at an end, Morgan made a determined effort to reinstate his position as a land owner and gentleman. His case was so good that a Select Committee of the House of Assembly recommended in his favour that he should be granted land.<sup>65</sup> His last official communications<sup>66</sup> are to note the irony that his long awaited democratic institution, the fully elective Assembly, the most liberal institution he could hope to see in his lifetime, dealt a final blow to his hopes

---

<sup>61</sup>GO.1.103.22.

<sup>62</sup>GO.1.108.4.

<sup>63</sup>CSD.1.56.

<sup>64</sup>ibid

<sup>65</sup>Parliamentary Papers, 97, 1861.

<sup>66</sup>CSD.4.40.503.

in 1860 by rejecting the Bill to authorize a grant of land to Lieutenant John Morgan, Royal Marines, by nine votes to seven.<sup>67</sup>

In the Tasmanian Morning Herald of 23rd April 1866 appeared the following obituary:-

"Died on 22 inst. at the General Hospital, John Morgan, late Lieutenant in the Royal Marines, in his 74th year after a long and lingering illness."

---

<sup>67</sup>Parliamentary Papers, 1863.

## CHANGING IDEAS ON MAN AND SOCIETY

John Morgan had very clear ideas about the form which human society ought to assume. The unsettling effects of the French Wars and of his sojourn in North America brought him to question English social rigidity as he saw it. By the time he produced his Emigrant's Notebook and Guide in 1824 he had firmly fixed in his mind a picture of an ideal, almost utopian, society with himself in a highly privileged position in it. He believed the ideal society was to be found or founded in the colonies. Its improvements over the British model were to be twofold, an increase in material well being, and a release from the strictures of the existing class hierarchy. In his Emigrant's Notebook he described the two main desires of emigrants (meaning himself) as independence and comfort.

In 1828 he wrote to R. W. Hay, Under Secretary of State for the Colonies, that he was ambitious to "do himself permanent good"<sup>1</sup> by emigration. His life in Wales as a tenant farmer, an engineer and petty entrepreneurial agent were not satisfying as he could see no advance made during the past ten years.<sup>2</sup> His idea of advance seems to have meant the acquiring of property. He always seemed to prefer to picture himself as belonging to the landed aristocracy rather than to the government official class.<sup>3</sup> During the short term of his residence at Swan River he devoted much attention to the task of gaining possession of land.<sup>4</sup> Besides this, the whole tenor of the Emigrant's Notebook shows his interest in agriculture - "with plenty

---

<sup>1</sup>CO.323.130, folio 238.

<sup>2</sup>ibid

<sup>3</sup>CSO.1.840.17798, letter 2.2.36.

<sup>4</sup>Microfilm 296 18/7, folio 327.

of land ... the man who lives by the produce of the earth depends only on the Almighty and himself and this feeling of real and perfect independence".<sup>5</sup>

Alongside the drive to improve his economic and social status this "feeling of perfect independence" was very real to Morgan. He thought that in Canada a man could, in a few years, obtain and enjoy unmolested that inestimable blessing of a beneficial providence, a full and perfect independence.<sup>6</sup> The underlying assumption behind this idea was that freedom would enable a man to develop his own perfection. The open spaces of the colonies offered this freedom. The only other ingredient necessary was knowledge. "Knowledge," he wrote, "is power and from this power alone when properly exercised can emanate all moral, social and political good".<sup>7</sup> He believed that in the nineteenth century individuals were at last receiving knowledge through education. Morgan was sure that he lived in a great era of advance. He wrote joyfully that a vast change was evidently coming over the universal world, "and it is not only a few who think thus".<sup>8</sup>

Morgan had no hesitation in describing the process of change. He thought that in former days when might was right in every sense of the word the poor and defenceless had been at the mercy of the rich and powerful. History showed that it was then only necessary for a man to be born noble, to make him so in reality, and this nobility of birth gave a man the right to ride rough shod over the rest of creation, "for such men only the world was made". Time passed and a

---

<sup>5</sup> Emigrant's Notebook, letter VI,

p.101

<sup>6</sup> " " letter XII,  
p.299

<sup>7</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch,

11.10.39.

<sup>8</sup> " " "31.12.41.

better order was established - "because the great mass of mankind had begun to understand its own strength. The cloud of ignorance was partially dispelled and objects hitherto obscured gradually became perceptible. Men rose up from amongst men, to teach others their social and political rights and with them grew up institutions suited to the increased intelligence of the human race." <sup>9</sup>

The rise of the new men was irrepressible but in England it was being delayed by Ultra-Tory power which was trying to replace happy, open honesty with Beau Brummel cravat and white kid gloves and English roast beef by afternoon tea. <sup>10</sup> Morgan had no sympathy with conservative feeling in Britain, even criticising the conduct of the Napoleonic wars as being intended to protect British upper class interests. <sup>11</sup> The British nation had been hoaxed into thinking that the war was for right and was "just and necessary". <sup>12</sup> After the war people had begun to wake up to the true situation that they had been fighting in the wrong place for the wrong ends. Morgan thought that right had been on the side of the French whom he had fought in the Peninsula War. Honest people in Britain had regretted "this long and obstinate war by which millions of human beings were legally murdered ..." <sup>13</sup> and which had created the national debt, high prices, taxes and the Corn Laws. Yet now the acquisition of knowledge by British people meant that these impositions were seen in their true light. This explained the unsettled condition of England in the 1830's as hundreds of thousands of dissatisfied and discontented men were ready to take up

---

<sup>9</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 26.7.39.  
<sup>10</sup>" " " 10.5.39.  
<sup>11</sup>" " " 2.8.39.

<sup>12</sup>ibid

<sup>13</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 24.5.39.

arms in opposition to the Corn Laws and for what was called "The People's Charter".<sup>14</sup> He believed that the great struggle against British Tory power was just beginning.

The colonies offered space for the changes in society to take place, unrestricted by the chains of hereditary wisdom. Though he did not enjoy association with convicts, Morgan at first held that in the clean, clear environment the natural goodness of individual intellect was able to develop and this would enable convicts to reach reform. He believed that transportation was quite efficacious as a punishment. "This is the first step towards Reform and that it may be produced by transportation, more readily and more effectually than by any other method, I do not entertain even the shadow of a doubt".<sup>15</sup>

He denied the transmission of morality by heredity<sup>16</sup> so that the presence of ex-convicts was no permanent hindrance to the growth of a perfect society. He postulated an ethic for a society which could create an ideal environment for the spread of rational humanity - "a debt is due by all society which must be repaid by all classes not by the labouring alone but by the rich also ... The most noble and valuable of all help is self-assistance whether it be by digging the earth or by diligent performance of any other task allotted to us by Providence".<sup>17</sup> The appeal of the fresh, young society of the colonies for anyone holding these views is plain.

Morgan came out to Swan River and to Van Diemen's Land fully expecting to find the ideal environment already in existence and he

<sup>14</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 24.5.39.

<sup>15</sup>Colonial Times, letter 12.2.39.

<sup>16</sup>ibid

<sup>17</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 12.4.39.



was glad to be away from the seat of hereditary wisdom. His faith at this time, was in English people's innate appreciation of correct action and not in ancient institutions.<sup>18</sup> He considered the colonists to be Englishmen and never thought of going to any foreign land. Englishmen had reached that state of individual development upon which, and only upon which, the ideal society could be created. This development consisted essentially of the acquisition of education. Men would intuitively be able to use the gift of knowledge to control their social relations. When eventually a society of rational beings had evolved there would be no further need for any government. Morgan was fond of saying that "Society is a blessing ... government a necessary evil"<sup>19</sup> and this sums up his attitudes towards both. It was true that Government was persisting in Britain but in the colonies, where the same type of people would be free of traditional forms, there should be nothing to prevent a perfect rational society from forming.

Van Diemen's Land quickly proved a disappointment. Geographically it was almost pristine but already man had made it vile. "At present rich as may be its natural resources, genial as may be its climate, generous and intelligent as may be a great portion of its inhabitants it is still a place suited only for the slave and for the slave holder to live in".<sup>20</sup> Yet Morgan never bowed to the inevitability of this condition. Deeply disappointed as he was by the confused state of society in the colony he did not lose the sense that it was the system of administration that was wrong. Society was not all that he had

<sup>18</sup> Hobart Town Advertiser, 31.5.39.

<sup>19</sup> Morning Advertiser, 3.9.41.

<sup>20</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 24.4.40.

hoped but he maintained that it could become so. In this way his desire for fulfillment in the good life of rational humanity was deferred until reforms had created the ideal environment. He promoted the good ends, becoming Secretary to the Mechanics Institute, and starting benevolent societies for licensed victuallers and merchant seamen. He devoted his newspaper columns to the dissemination of the propaganda of rational humanity - "as one of the many instruments having the power to effect reform in these matters we will devote our exertions to the purpose".<sup>21</sup>

Much of Morgan's agitation appears to have had some effect, if only that of drawing public attention to the issues involved. It included pleas for penal reform, for improvements to the hospitals, lunatic asylums and gaols; for the cessation of the use of convict police constables, of capital punishment and of unfunctional fashions in clothes; for higher moral standards for lawyers, justices of the peace, coroners and jurymen; for protection of the rights of convicts, pensioners and the poor, aborigines and non-whites.

In 1840 he visited the hospital in Hobart Town and came away feeling disgusted. He named it the "Slave Ship on Shore" because of its crowded and insanitary conditions which caused more diseases than they cured.<sup>22</sup> He paid regular visits to the hospital after this and commented on the improvements subsequent to his publicity. In 1846 he undertook the same task for the hospital in Launceston and found it "a very counterpart of the old slave ship on shore, the cholera morbus

---

<sup>21</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 13.11.40. <sup>22</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 6.3.40.

receptacle of Hobart Town before the Local Government was shamed by the Press into making it a fit abode for human beings."<sup>23</sup>

Though Morgan had much to say in favour of Lieutenant Governor Wilmot at the time of the latter's illness and death in April 1847, he concurred in the official verdict that Wilmot had neglected the moral and religious welfare of the convicts under his control.<sup>24</sup> Morgan had, over many years, campaigned for better treatment of female prisoners, particularly with regard to the surveillance of them by male watch house keepers and their despatch on foot into the interior in the charge of a convict constable on a journey of several days. He deplored Wilmot's neglect to institute an enquiry into the jails and watchhouses after he, Morgan, had petitioned him to do so.<sup>25</sup>

Nor did Morgan reserve his attention for the colony in which he resided. He was intensely critical of a clause in the constitution of the new State of California which denied citizenship to "Africans and their descendents".<sup>26</sup> "Thank God", said Morgan, "that this did not happen under a British flag". He would have liked to pour molten gold down the throat of its author but instead he sent an open letter to the Governor of the State and with it several copies of the Britannia to demonstrate the publicity he was giving to the inhuman clause. This episode also brought forth one of Morgan's irregularly occurring poems, always carefully signed by the author. This one ended:-

"Almighty God! God of the right!  
Stretch forth thine arm and save  
From tyrant power, from lawless might  
The poor man and the slave."

27

<sup>23</sup> Britannia, 12.11.46.

<sup>24</sup> " " 1.10.46.

<sup>25</sup> ibid

<sup>26</sup> Britannia, 14.3.50.

<sup>27</sup> " " 4.4.50.

So he kept on striving for reform in every social sphere. He was most sure of his success in his work as Secretary of the Licensed Victuallers' Society, for whom he could claim to have gained several reforms in the laws.<sup>28</sup> These mainly had the effect of clarifying the status of the publicans in the community and of regularising the attitude of the police and magistrates towards a section of the community which, at that time, held a most central position. As conductors of the meeting places for a large proportion of the population, the publicans were held, by law, to owe certain social duties such as the keeping alight, at their doors, of the only form of street lighting and the offering of shelter to accident victims. Morgan's policy was to accept such tasks and in return to expect a measure of dignified consideration from the police and magistrates. He was less successful in realizing his concept of a true benevolent society as the lowness of the funds of the Victuallers never allowed for the establishment of an educational scheme for their children or for more than casual payments to the sick or widowed.

Usually there was little obvious result to show for all his efforts and he frequently found the task tedious. "It is tiresome and wearying working up against the tide but nevertheless it must be done".<sup>29</sup> Morgan had expected the colonists to join the moral crusade once the knowledge of true values was made clear to them via his columns. Their inability or reluctance to respond to correct principles brought forth many priggish statements, none of which helped to make John Morgan popular. A typical cavil at his fellows was that, "of all the people

---

<sup>28</sup> Britannia, 10.12.46.

<sup>29</sup> " 10.8.48.

within the boundaries of the British Empire the colonists of Van Diemen's Land are the most apathetic on all questions affecting their interests moral, social and political".<sup>30</sup> His reforming frequently lapsed into cant, his paternalism was resented by many. The Guardian spoke for them when it claimed that "Mr. Morgan of the Britannia was neither born to greatness, nor has had it thrust upon him yet he seems determined to achieve it ... to wend his way to his long sought for pinnacle [by] pompous despatch and violent tirade".<sup>31</sup>

Morgan's erstwhile peers of the official class and the landed gentry soon learned to be wary of involvement with his untactful pen, moved by high ideal rather than commonsense. He was forced to resign his position with the Mechanics Institute as his anti-government agitation proved compromising.<sup>32</sup> The Institute had high hopes of receiving a grant from Colonial funds to aid it in its philanthropic task.<sup>33</sup> Lieutenant Governor Sir John Franklin had shown his interest in its work and his patronage was a possibility. The committee could not afford to retain the services of a Secretary who vilified the Governor in his editorials whilst signing the letters of appeal from the Institute. Accordingly a resolution was passed barring members of the Press from its executive. Yet this anachronistic position had not concerned Morgan. He was able to maintain his campaign for reform on an official and idealistic level and did not consider that other people would consider it as mere selfish or personal abuse. There is very little evidence in his writings of any motive of cheap gain

<sup>30</sup> Britannia, 15.7.47.

<sup>31</sup> Hobart Guardian, 4.1.51.

<sup>32</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 27.11.40.  
<sup>33</sup> " " " 3.1.40.

behind his actions. He was frequently accused of this,<sup>34</sup> and he certainly remained poor, yet Morgan was primarily motivated by altruistic idealism. He resented the implication that the cap fitted when the Colonial Secretary said "the colony is in imminent danger from the work of the profligate who have no property and who wish to put the whole colony in confusion for the sake of themselves".<sup>35</sup> Yet many colonists must have felt the remark was intended for Morgan during the months of reconstruction of colonial law after the Dog Act debacle. He had certainly established the principles he had maintained but it was doubtful to many if the principles were worth the confusion that was caused. This in turn led them to become critical of the integrity of the man who alone had caused the confusion. This was one reason why Morgan's status fell during the colonial sojourn. It was partly because he became to be considered a trouble maker and partly because of his economic failure.

The inability to acquire land and the chronic indebtedness which dominated his life, gradually undermined his social standing. The Colonial Times referred to Morgan's first essay at journalism as "the truly humane and enlightened sentiments of that gentleman";<sup>36</sup> by 1848 he was being called that "trading patriot"<sup>37</sup> who prostituted his influence for hire "lording it over with the stern ferocity of an inflated petty official".<sup>38</sup> As his personal standing steadily declined one result was that he was brought into more intimate contact with different classes of colonist.

---

<sup>34</sup> Guardian, 15.9.47.

<sup>35</sup> Britannia, 3.2.48.

<sup>36</sup> Colonial Times, 5.3.39.

<sup>37</sup> Britannia, 3.8.48.

<sup>38</sup> Guardian, 15.9.47.

Morgan's attitude to class changed significantly as the years went by and this change paralleled and probably sprang from his personal experience. He had always believed in the idea of the oneness of humanity and was always prepared to espouse the cause of the poor or needy. This philanthropy slowly changed from noblesse oblige to a more positive sense of identification. He could write in 1840 that, "We have no idea of laying the lash of our pen upon the lower classes of society merely because they are so placed".<sup>39</sup> Seven years later he had changed to saying that from "the higher orders of society ... generally arises all that is objectionable"<sup>40</sup> whereas free labour unions "tended to elevate society generally".<sup>41</sup>

Tolerated yet treated coldly by Thomas Gregson, Richard Dry and other colonial aristocratic liberals<sup>42</sup> Morgan sought friends in business acquaintances like William Mezger, doyen of Hobart's publicans or William Robertson, publican and shopkeeper, who became a magistrate and bought land near Geelong to pass, on his way up, John Morgan sinking from magistrate to editor to trade union leader and protector of the free labourers. For Morgan found great satisfaction in defending the lower classes. This was partly sour grapes at his failure to maintain class status - "patronage is the first word in the dictionary of the Home Colonial Government, the A.I. of that class of British superstructure which is built expressly for providing births [sic] for those who could not perform the voyage of life in any other character",<sup>43</sup> and partly because he felt

---

<sup>39</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 20.11.40.

<sup>40</sup>Britannia, 6.5.47.

<sup>41</sup>" 3.2.48.

<sup>42</sup>Britannia, 10.8.48.

<sup>43</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch,  
10.1.40.

appreciated by the working men. Reform could be best brought about by use of the masses - "it is too much the fashion in this Colony to consider the free working class to be one altogether unworthy of regard. The mob, the rabble, are the common terms. These persons should recollect that it is to such a mob that every country in the world which is blessed with anything like rational freedom is indebted for the attainment of its civil and religious liberty".<sup>44</sup> Only the poor seemed now to have the innate capacity for good.

During 1848 Morgan adopted the attitude that his Dog Act agitation had been intended for the defence of the humbler classes<sup>45</sup> and during the same year he championed the free labourers in the Trades Union Free Labour Movement he helped to form. He was chairman and honorary member of the union<sup>46</sup> and when he announced that their Wednesday night meetings were inconvenient to him the artisans agreed to change to another night.<sup>47</sup> He became Secretary of the Mechanics School of Arts and gave two lectures to its working class audience on his theories of "Practical Humanity".<sup>48</sup>

It was by his support of the free workers that Morgan found himself drawn into the anti-transportation movement. He had soon realized that whilst transportation may have been good for the convict it was no good for colonial society and, in particular, was detrimental to the working classes. By 1847 he had, for instance, abandoned his earlier opposition to capital punishment. He claimed that there was

---

<sup>44</sup>Britannia, 20.5.47.  
<sup>45</sup>" 14.12.48.  
<sup>46</sup>" 21.12.48.

<sup>47</sup>Britannia, 1.7.47.  
<sup>48</sup>" 24.10.50.



too much consideration being shown for the welfare of convicts and not enough for the poor honest man.<sup>49</sup>

As part of his drive to correct this Morgan proposed the motion at a meeting of the Trades Union - "That in the opinion of this Meeting it is inconsistent with every principle of British justice that the claims of free labour should be made subservient to any scheme of penal science ..."<sup>50</sup> Because of the non-support of employers who sought cheap convict labour rather than giving employment to the free<sup>51</sup> he proposed a pledge at a meeting of the Anti-Transportation League that - "We solemnly pledge ourselves not to hire or employ directly or indirectly any convicts male or female and whether called Exiles, Probationers, Passholders or Ticket of Leave men or whether sent out under the present or any other system of transportation, who shall arrive in this colony after the present date".<sup>52</sup>

His jibes at the upper classes increased and from the tenor of these and from his defence of the working man and of emancipists it would superficially appear that Morgan's colonial experience had been a simple democratizing one, that Denison had judged accurately. In fact the situation was not nearly so simple as this. Insofar as he had come to idealize the lower classes and to be prepared to agitate on their behalf he had indeed become a democrat. Yet this increased consciousness of class linked with his own descending status prompted the development of an antipathy to class revolution. He wished to

---

<sup>49</sup>Britannia, 7.1.47.  
<sup>50</sup>" " 3.6.47.

<sup>51</sup>Britannia, 16.12.47.  
<sup>52</sup>" " 26.9.50.

maintain the remnants of his own superiority over the working class, albeit from that position to applaud and to encourage, in short, to patronize his inferiors.

The late 1840's thus saw Morgan lash out at those who would subvert established class order. Following the 1848 revolution in France he suffered a strong reaction against the principles of 1792, and against his old partiality for the French. This reaction was partly due to disappointment in his liberal idealism. "Louis Napoleon," he wrote, "the snobrepresentative of the greatest tyrant that ever assumed the garb of liberty - President of France in 1849!"<sup>53</sup> This was "proof of national insanity"<sup>54</sup> and it was reinforced by the reversal of the fortunes of the Italian liberal movement by the forces of France. Even so there was more to the reaction against French Revolutionaries than this.

When he had been sure of his position in society he could equably consider all degrees of social radicalism as they did not affect him directly. Now this was changing; for example, Chartist agitation, instead of being a praiseworthy part of the general change for the better in society, became part of a debasement of the true British character by French influence. Morgan deplored the fact that "the vile sensuality of the continent should have thus impaired the English, Irish and Scottish national character".<sup>55</sup> He seized upon the term "socialist" to describe this force which he feared and

---

<sup>53</sup> Britannia, 5.4.49.

<sup>54</sup> ibid

<sup>55</sup> Britannia, 21.11.50.

blamed the licentious writings of Eugene Sue for the threat of plunder and anarchy.<sup>56</sup>

This threat of unwelcome change had its origin in the local colonial situation. This became clear when the proposal to form a Tasmanian Union in 1850 listed aims, all of which superficially embraced principles that Morgan had promulgated through the years, such as to be open to all, to support the truth in the Press of the colony or to issue statistics about the Colony to aid immigration.<sup>57</sup> Yet he showed a violent antipathy towards it; he said its notice was too high flown and bombastic, it tended to an open division in society and yet, in apparent contradiction, it aimed at abolishing all classifications. This, he thought, could be interpreted as the degenerating effect of the Socialism of Eugene Sue,<sup>58</sup> which was his rationalization for a complex situation to which he was too close to appreciate. He was in return criticized for this attitude by the mouthpiece of the Tasmanian Union, the Guardian newspaper. It accused Morgan of fostering class distinctions in his opposition to the Union which was basically intended to promote the fortunes of ex-convicts. Morgan could still cling to the idea of convict reform within the colony and abhor the use of the term emancipist as one which continued the stigma of the sentence after its completion. Yet, more immediately, he had reached a position from which he could neither afford nor desire to support a Union which could only strengthen the status of the ex-convicts by jeopardizing that of the

---

<sup>56</sup>Britannia, 21.11.50.  
<sup>57</sup>" 7.11.50.

<sup>58</sup>ibid

free labourers. His plans for the colony were now so tied to the extinction of the penal element that the Union's threat of support for the continuance of transportation brought him to turn his back upon a superficially liberalist movement and led to his self-contradiction of his own principles.

The more urgent reason for opposition to the Tasmanian Union, if less clearly stated, was the part played in it by a Doctor Bailey who had for years been strongly critical of Morgan from the pages of the Guardian and against whom Morgan had instituted a libel action in 1847. Bailey was a ticket of leave convict.<sup>59</sup> Any convict's attention could have been treated with contempt in Morgan's early years in the colony, but in 1850 a professional or middle class convict constituted a direct threat to his own position. The rivalry was as direct as the rivalry Morgan could see between probationers and the free mechanics who were leaving Van Diemen's Land for Port Phillip in such great numbers. Dr. Bailey and his Tasmanian Union threatened to cut from beneath Morgan's feet the little social standing that was left to him.

It was from Dr. Bailey and his peers, as much as from the Socialists, that Morgan was feeling a threat but, as he settled more firmly into his newly found status, his attitude hardened towards any social change. In 1839 news of a Chartist rising in Birmingham had prompted him to write - "That a great revolutionary movement is in progress throughout the British Empire cannot, we think, be doubted by any man."<sup>60</sup> In contrast he complained in 1850 that -

---

<sup>59</sup>Britannia, 25.11.47.

---

<sup>60</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 22.11.39.

"Chartist rioters and men of that class attend public meetings in the interior there to move resolutions tending to divide society".<sup>61</sup>

This was written in an open letter of appeal to Earl Grey and published in Morgan's final Britannia:-

"Unless you, My Lord, step up to the rescue we shall presently have here, not a war of races and colours, but of castes and classes ... The convict authorities here, however, it seems for their own mercenary purposes would have us adopt the red republican, socialist levelling principles of revolutionary France by which all distinctions are abolished." 62

He again contradicted himself and showed his failing confidence in the inevitability of progress by being as apprehensive of society being divided as he was of the abolishing of all distinctions. This letter, intended more for the colonists' benefit than for Earl Grey, was a dramatic finale to his editorial career. Morgan feared the growth in power of radical ex-convict elements whilst the colony was in a state of change. It would be tragic if, through apathy or ignorance, the colonists let slip the social standards he desired for the soon-to-be-expected independent Tasmania. To maintain the social status quo he was prepared even to condone suppression of radical activity. The letter complains of the laxness of the Colonial Government towards these men who are tending to divide society and calls upon Earl Grey to step in to save the island from a state of anarchy which the convict authorities were fostering for their own purposes. Far from expecting the growth of an ideal society Morgan was now prepared to hold on to the existing one, fearing that any change would be in a reverse direction.

---

<sup>61</sup> Britannia, 26.12.50.

<sup>62</sup> ibid

The failing confidence in the social utopia was, perhaps characteristically, not applied simultaneously to society in Britain. Somehow colonial society had failed, but meanwhile British society was as good as it ever was. Morgan began to consider that perhaps there was significant difference between British people and colonials. The cry of a European was "Give us light, give us knowledge" whereas the colonist cried "Give us elbow room, give us space, give us a forest world that we may level with the dust".<sup>63</sup> Britain was now beginning, even to a greater extent, to be the probable home of the future utopia for rational humanity and for precisely opposite reasons to those suggested as virtues of the colonies in 1824. With the European "storm raging around her old England rides in comparative peace and foreigners from all nations seek with her alone, security and protection. That great reforms will be made in the constitution of her government is certain but as the great mass of the people are not to be led to the sacrifice of acknowledged principles by the mere hope of adopting better no fear of the result need be entertained."<sup>64</sup> The "acknowledged principles" were now less restrictive than guiding. The lack of these guides was the cause of the weakness of colonial society. Yet in 1824 that had been its greatest strength.

Morgan was inclined to believe that the colonial society had gone wrong somewhere along the line. One of his interesting conclusions was that the colony had failed via its misdirected search for wealth, by its wrong form of settlement. "That celebrated writer William Cobbett compared London to a great wen which was drawing

---

<sup>63</sup> Britannia, 21.6.49.

<sup>64</sup> " " 10.10.48.

unnatural supplies from its body politic - how much more is it true of Van Diemen's Land where Hobart Town grows despite the country".<sup>65</sup> He was critical of the growing obsession with gold mining saying that gold from grain was better than gold from the ground.<sup>66</sup> He disliked the pastoral society he saw around him which led to "lazy sheep, lazy shepherds, lazy masters"<sup>67</sup> and thought that the only happy society was an agricultural one because "Nature is the best guide, and where its feelings are outraged nothing permanently beneficial can ensue whether to individuals or communities, colonies or nations".<sup>68</sup> This benevolent nature, he thought, was agricultural and not pastoral and in this he reflected the idle dreaming of a century of Englishmen.

The effects of disillusionment offered by colonial life at first had caused Morgan to resist injustices from the moral basis of those high principles which had been formulated under English experience. He was not a social radical in ideal merely because he was a colonial. These were English standards he had brought with him but in the colony these ideas were drawn into practical application, in opposition to the official elite. This was the origin of his "essentially democratic spirit"<sup>69</sup> yet he had further cause to be a radical in the colony because of his personally lowered status in the colonial social scale. As he became more conscious of class he became less sure of his optimism for the future of society. Towards the end instead of welcoming any change he was becoming a social conservative to the extent that he began to resist change in class structure beyond what had already occurred. His social ideals may

---

<sup>65</sup> Britannia, 8.1.46.  
<sup>66</sup> " 20.12.49.  
<sup>67</sup> " 15.2.49.

<sup>68</sup> Britannia, 18.5.48.  
<sup>69</sup> " 6.9.49.

have seemed radical to Denison, in practice the very opposite became true. He entered the eighteen fifties as an increasingly confirmed colonial middle class liberal. The combined effect of the colony and of the radical liberal tradition upon Morgan was to leave him as firmly set in the social position in which he eventually found himself, as any of those Tories, he had criticized so thoroughly, were set in their own prejudices.



## THE CHANGING IDEAS ABOUT MAN AND RELIGION

Religion to John Morgan was a personal subjective matter.

Religious truth was attained by direct communication between man and God. Religion had originated in fear and superstition but was being replaced by rational moral decision in the educated community of the Nineteenth century. He believed that this progress was inevitable yet it was being delayed by the forces of traditional prejudices.

Morgan's hopes for emigration included the belief that he could leave, in Britain, the intolerable forms of traditional Christianity. In the newness of Canada or Australia he hoped for more direct contact with God without the cloying outward forms of religion. He assured would-be migrants in his Emigrant's Notebook and Guide that emigration would save them from this "second-hand existence"<sup>1</sup> by taking them to a place where the happy natives were free from "all those inquietudes and miseries which his more refined and civilized fellow creatures are hourly subject to".<sup>2</sup> Yet this would mean no lessening of their spiritual connections as the same Providence as looked after the traveller at home is "equally willing and able to protect him whilst exposed to the perils of the ocean"<sup>3</sup> and presumably of the colony.

Morgan had been educated as an Anglican but he denied that that religion held any priority in his mind.<sup>4</sup> He had travelled far over the world and had found every religion of equal virtue. Christian charity and benevolence demanded tolerance "even to pagans, Mahometans and Catholics".<sup>5</sup> Tolerance was a moral virtue in its own right and was a requisite of allegiance to "the Universal Church".<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Emigrant's Notebook and Guide, p.5.

<sup>2</sup> " " " p.5.

<sup>3</sup> " " " p.89

<sup>4</sup> Britannia, 18.2.47.

<sup>5</sup> Hobart Town Advertiser, 5.4.39.

<sup>6</sup> ibid

He believed that the division into sects was a stage in the historical growth of religion. The ultimate state towards which all religions were progressing was the Universal Church in which all individuals would hold direct and personal communion with God; there would then be no need for doctrine or for clergy, and intolerance would not exist.

In the early years of his work as a journalist and writer Morgan went to great pains to show the depths of his tolerance as he believed that as an individual he had attained the practical humanism of the Universal Church. He supported the agitation of Daniel O'Connell in Ireland because that country had been unjustly oppressed by English Tory power. This oppression had included the domination of Catholicism\* by the Church of England. Daniel O'Connell's ancestors "had been forced down by the tyrants, religious and political, who had for a series of years oppressed his country".<sup>7</sup> He thought that O'Connell "does no more than any man would do, who is deserving the blessings of civil and religious liberty".<sup>8</sup> In December 1839 a Mr. Butters, Wesleyan preacher, made a "gross and illiberal attack ... on the Catholic people".<sup>9</sup> This filled Morgan with disgust as "we hate cant and hypocrisy [sic] as we abhor bigotry".<sup>10</sup> He assured Catholics that not all Protestants supported the view of the Wesleyan minister.

In these lessons on tolerance Morgan showed his application of

---

<sup>7</sup>Hobart Town Advertiser, 19.7.39.      <sup>9</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 27.12.39.  
<sup>8</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 25.10.39.      <sup>10</sup>ibid

\*Morgan refers variously to the Roman Catholic Church as Catholic, Roman Catholic or Romanist, otherwise this Church is, in this paper, named merely Catholic.

a distinct attitude towards the Catholics. He was so deliberate in his allowances towards their idiosyncracies because it appeared to him that they offered the greatest obstacle to religious progress. He believed he demonstrated a great fairness in his editorial on the funeral of the late Lieutenant Governor Wilmot. He criticized the Anglican Bishop for refusing to join with the other religious groups in the procession and the Catholic clergy for turning aside at the door and refusing to enter the Church.<sup>11</sup> In fact these statements more clearly demonstrate that Morgan never completely rose above his English scale of religious values. The idealist Universal Church was always seen through Protestant spectacles.

Yet Morgan was firmly convinced that he was trying to draw all denominations together into mutual harmony and humanity and to single none out for discrimination. In this work he was actively promoting the Universal Church. He still had faith that its realization would not be long delayed.

Morgan claimed he would support "that Church which is founded upon the greatest proportion of common sense, not upon the greatest share of superstition and worldly presumption".<sup>12</sup> To this end he believed in the teaching of religion.<sup>13</sup> He held that an individual properly informed about the various aspects of religions of the world would be better equipped to make a rational decision on his personal interpretation. He supported the inclusion of religious instruction in school curricula and quoted Lord Brougham to show that the teaching about religion in the National system of education was

---

<sup>11</sup> Britannia, 18.2.47.  
<sup>12</sup> *ibid*

<sup>13</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 11.10.39.

more suited to the needs of rational humanity than was the inculcating of doctrines in sectarian schools.<sup>14</sup> Sectarianism prevented man from reaching his natural condition. Morgan was for sweeping aside all guiding ideologies and for leaving educated man alone in possession of full knowledge. Principles and values did not have to be taught as the correct ones were arrived at intuitively.

The need for individual interpretation put Morgan's religious views in logical opposition to all churches which accepted a revealed body of spiritual truth. It also implied his opposition to any clergy. He saw that priests, by their very existence, pre-supposed dictation of opinion. "We are not bigots. We do not reproach in one what we applaud in another. Whether the religious dictator, the rough rider over other men's consciences be a Protestant or a Romanist, it is all the same to us. He shall meet our heartiest and most earnest opposition."<sup>15</sup>

Morgan saw too that the purity of the spirit could be polluted by secular interests via the association of Church and State. To this end he renounced any form of establishment, "as we could never understand the pure necessity of a State Religion so we could never go hand in hand with those who would support its supremacy".<sup>16</sup> In 1841 he gave the Church of England five more years before disestablishment in England would be brought about by the inevitable process of the advance of civilization. His aim was to see "a radical reform in Church matters, and perhaps something more; not the destruction of the Christian religion certainly, but its

---

<sup>14</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 11.10.39.

<sup>15</sup>Britannia, 11.11.47.

<sup>16</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 22.5.40.

separation from and independence of the influences, the chicanery and manoeuvre of earthly governments".<sup>17</sup>

So dearly did Morgan desire to see a divorce between Church and State that he had no patience with the colonial idea of the state subsidizing of all religions. This was not a progressive step as many thought but a movement in the wrong direction. He openly declared his support for the voluntarist preferences of the Free Church of Scotland.<sup>18</sup>

"The funds of all, in fact, should be applied for the good of all ... We are aware that these are opinions which require considerable moral courage to publicly declare and act upon in the face of long seated prejudices but we have no hesitation about the matter - believing that civil and religious liberty ought to go hand in hand in order to ensure the rational happiness of the human race." <sup>19</sup>

The person who believed in a rational basis for spiritual doctrine did not easily accept many of the practices of the more ceremonial churches. Morgan particularly disliked and even abhorred any sign of irrationality in the practices of the Catholic Church. In his earlier years he was buoyed up by the confidence that these practices were merely the remnant of magic in religion and of oracles and prophets.<sup>20</sup>

"Religion is not what it was, the mere bugbear to frighten children and fools. It is now something thought about and therefore it is now no longer a mere belief, to be read and bowed to as a matter of course. Men now think for themselves and therefore they cannot now be so easily imposed upon, either in religion, or in politics". <sup>21</sup>

<sup>17</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 5.3.41.

<sup>18</sup>Britannia, 11.10.49.

<sup>19</sup>" 18.10.49.

<sup>20</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 5.3.41.

<sup>21</sup>" " " 22.5.40.

He became enraged at the sight of an anointing with Holy Oil.

"These holy improvements (?) of nature by the sacrifice of feelings we have been solemnly told to cherish have had their inhuman sway quite long enough and it is beyond everything wonderful to us, that mankind should be so besotted as to allow their continuance, but so it is even in the Nineteenth Century!!!!" 22

All of these opinions led Morgan to an intense hatred of Tractarianism which embodied all he disliked about Catholicism and included too the hypocrisy of not accepting its mantle. He described St. George's Church in Battery Point as being "as closely allied to Romanism as is possible. To be Romanists in reality if consistent with our belief would be just but to profess to abjure the faith whilst we follow the practice is not honest".<sup>23</sup> The ceremonial practices and language of the Reverend Mr. Fry at St. George's annoyed Morgan who asked why could not the minister use "plain common sense arguments suited to the age".<sup>24</sup> Tolerance towards Catholicism was a positive contribution to progress but Puseyites seemed to be tending in the opposite direction and tolerance was not applicable to them.

Morgan's position as an editor placed him into what he felt to be a special position vis a vis the public. He had an actual duty to release men from adherence to wrong values by revelation of their errors. He condemned Puseysim as "neither fish nor flesh, nor good red herring" and sneered at it for steering a middle course. "I will not allow the local middle coursers to do so quietly", he wrote.<sup>25</sup>

---

<sup>22</sup>Britannia, 4.11.47.  
<sup>23</sup>" 26.11.46.

<sup>24</sup>Britannia, 21.1.47.  
<sup>25</sup>" 3.10.50.

It was this involvement in the propaganda of religious belief which led him into open conflict with those who disagreed with him. The Hobart Town Advertiser cynically said that Morgan "would have perfect religious equality by bringing religion down to the lowest possible level" and that his "freedom of opinion on religious matters is defined by his own opinions".<sup>26</sup>

Perhaps not so strangely some members of the very sect he was deliberately making allowances for, the Catholics, were the most easily alienated by his statements. What he believed was a fairness and tolerance, they called bigotry. In the general interests of tolerance he protested against the "clerical tyranny".<sup>27</sup> when the Vicar General, the Reverend Father Hall, opposed the marriage of a Catholic woman to a man who was a Mason. In criticizing this lack of tolerance Morgan was careful to state that he opposed all and any priesthoods and that he was in no way critical of Catholic tenets or practice. He did not profess superiority of any faith of his own but declared war to the knife on anyone who would prevent others from thinking, "to place himself between man and his Maker".<sup>28</sup> Yet in the same editorial he could not refrain from commenting that he did not see why the Catholic Church should not be as liable to reform as any other church. He also made derogatory comments about the power the confessional gave to the priests over their penitents. In attacking the clergy he was led to criticize those practices which he had claimed he intended no judgment upon. He was surprised and

---

<sup>26</sup> Britannia, 18.2.47.  
<sup>27</sup> " 26.8.47.

<sup>28</sup> ibid

offended that the Catholic clergy openly attacked him in turn for his comments and that he was denounced from their pulpits.

Morgan's high principles led him to another source of disagreement with the Catholic leadership. His partisan tolerance of the Church in Hobart had befriended him to one group of laymen within that Church. He was associated with many more who were represented in his Licensed Victualler's Society. Most of his Catholic friends were Irish<sup>29</sup> and amongst these was the Reverend Father J. J. Therry. Bishop Willson who was sent to replace Father Therry as head of the Church in Hobart was not Irish and to some extent was resented by Hobart's Irish Catholics.<sup>30</sup> When a dispute arose over the responsibility for debts incurred on the Church's behalf by Father Therry, John Morgan came out vehemently in favour of Therry and opposed to the episcopal interference in local affairs. "Our duty is imperative", he wrote,<sup>31</sup> the Bishop's deunciations from the pulpit and his abuse of authority were "a disgrace to the nineteenth century".<sup>32</sup>

The affair simmered for a while and Morgan further alienated himself from many of the Catholics by his jubilation at the eviction of the Pope from his seat of secular power by the liberal forces of Italy. This he thought was a -

"greater blessing to the human race of all classes and colours than can be described. We hail this inroad upon Papacy with delight ... because man is a responsible being, responsible in religious matters only to himself and to his God between whom and himself the Catholic

---

<sup>29</sup> Britannia, 26.7.49.  
<sup>30</sup> " 9.8.49.

<sup>31</sup> Britannia, 20.8.46.  
<sup>32</sup> " 17.9.46.



"priest is for ever and in every way interfering. We say 'Give us light', he says 'Give him as much light only as will lead him to us', we say 'Almighty God teach us to think', he says 'in his darkness let him look to us only for information'." 33

These editorials in the Britannia alienated Morgan from devout Catholics as much as did his new found inclinations towards favour for the Orange Lodge. Accordingly after Father Therry was found to have discussed his problems with Morgan, a meeting of Father Hall's supporters held at St. Joseph's Church unanimously passed the resolution "That this meeting deprecates the aid sought from a newspaper - the avowed supporter of Orangeism and the bitter enemy of the Catholic religion and its venerated clergy".<sup>34</sup>

This public criticism hurt Morgan deeply; he believed it was undeserved as he still considered himself an exponent of tolerance for its own sake. He considered suing the Catholic clergy for libel but in the end decided to publish his pamphlet Give Us Light. The avowed intention of this was not to attack the Catholic Church as such but to demonstrate to Catholics how the power of the clergy was diverting them from the path of true universal religion.<sup>35</sup>

The accusation that Morgan was a supporter of the Orange faction was not true when it was made. His reaction to the accusation was to state he was "unassociated with Orangeism"<sup>36</sup> and his original opinion was certainly that the bitter intolerance of the Orange Lodges was not in accord with his own idea of liberal religion.<sup>37</sup>

When an Orange Lodge was proposed for Hobart in 1847 Morgan commented

<sup>33</sup> Britannia, 17.5.49.

<sup>34</sup> " 19.7.49.

<sup>35</sup> " 26.7.49.

<sup>36</sup> Britannia, 19.7.49.

<sup>37</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 21.2.40.

that he believed it would do no harm so long as it was founded on safe Protestantism and loyalty to the Queen. If the foundation of a Lodge implied that processions "inimical to the Roman Catholics" would ensue then he would not support it.<sup>38</sup> The following year he felt the need for a Protestant Association which should be "non-sectarian" to "carry out and preserve the great principles of religious liberty as established by the Reformation".<sup>39</sup> He felt that such an association was necessary to combat "the great efforts making by the Roman Catholic priesthood to recover an ascendancy in every part of the British Empire".<sup>40</sup> Failing the Protestant Association he felt that an Orange Lodge would make a second best. After the attack on the Britannia by the congregation of St. Joseph's Church, Morgan felt that he was being forced into an active alliance with the Orange faction.<sup>41</sup> He had extended the hand of practical humanity to the Catholic Church and, by rejecting it, they were relieving him of the onus of responsibility for their progress to rationality. Yet he had one more attempt to help the Catholic clergy in their waywardness. He had not acceded to Father Therry's original request and kept clear of the St. Joseph's controversy.<sup>42</sup> The Britannia had carried frequent references to it. So when a meeting was called to settle all differences between Bishop Willson and Father Therry, the latter invited John Morgan, presumably so that the Britannia would not arrive at a secondhand version of the proceedings, but also because some Irish Catholics felt that Morgan was being used

---

<sup>38</sup> Britannia, 2.12.47.  
<sup>39</sup> " 1.6.48.

<sup>40</sup> Britannia, 1.6.48.  
<sup>41</sup> " 19.7.49.  
<sup>42</sup> " 26.7.49.

by the English clergy in an attempt to stain Father Therry with Orangeism and he was therefore involved, to some extent, in the matter of the meeting.

On the night Morgan disgraced himself by his high handed impulsive actions. The Chairman of the meeting, the Vicar General, The Reverend Father Hall, refused to release a certain letter into the hands of Father Therry for procedural reasons. Whilst Father Hall was speaking Morgan snatched the letter from his hands and delivered it over to Father Therry. As the only non-Catholic prominent at this Church meeting his behaviour was not conducive to forbearance on the part of those present. The Chairman, amidst uproar, accused him of having stolen the letter. Morgan tried to speak to the gathering but was shouted down, receiving such unimaginative epithets as "Protestant" and "Orangeman".<sup>43</sup> Father Therry spoke up in Morgan's defence and suggested that the meeting should be tolerant towards a man who was trying to do his duty as he saw it.

The Britannia's editorial a week later draws the dilemma of the religious reformer rejected. Morgan claimed that, despite the accusations, he was not an Orangeman. "Poor priests", he wrote, "you will force us into the Orange ranks ultimately".<sup>44</sup> He thought that such partisan chairmanship could not have occurred in any Protestant or Jewish meeting. It was the irrationality of the anti-Protestantism of the Vicar General and the priests which was

---

<sup>43</sup> Britannia, 28.2.50.

<sup>44</sup> " " 7.3.50.

at fault. The Catholic clergy dreaded "the light of human understanding which may enable many to see into and beyond the confessional and the cloister".<sup>45</sup>

After this he abandoned hope of drawing the Catholics into the fold of his Universal Church and pressed on with his publication of Give Us Light. By this time he was convinced that the great religious division of the world was between Catholicism and the others. He began to doubt that reason was sufficient to overcome the superstition and irrationality of Catholic priesthood and teaching, and set out on a new mission to crush Catholicism which was not in decline, as he had originally thought, but constituted a serious dynamic threat to his optimism for the future.

As a converse of this, Morgan came to associate rationalism more closely with Protestantism. Some months later he realized that the members of the Orange Lodge of Van Diemen's Land were, in fact, acting upon the "principles of Civil and Religious Liberty",<sup>46</sup> and that Orangemen were now the holders of the ultimate dignity of man. This ultimate dignity was still embodied in rational freedom and in practical humanity, but now the idea of a Universal Church was being forgotten. History had shown him that there had been a marriage of Christianity and knowledge and the result was Protestantism in Britain.<sup>47</sup> His religious ideals were becoming epitomised in the British institutions and no longer did he consider that tradition

---

<sup>45</sup> Britannia, 7.3.50.  
<sup>46</sup> " 18.7.50.

<sup>47</sup> Give Us Light, Pt.2.

acted as a deterrent, or simple colonial society offered the attainment of transcendental truth.

When he had been resident in Britain, longing to migrate away from the barbarities of established prejudice, Morgan had never been called to face practical tolerance towards Catholics. In the colony the breaking down of traditional barriers and the different composition of the population brought the newspaper editor into sharp contact with the hard facts of religious differences. The colony had offered a new beginning for his ideal religion but at the same time it offered renewed openings for older philosophies. He had expected a blank page on which to write the truths of universal rational religion. He, in fact, found a vacuum being occupied by the old religious elements in new proportions and in untraditional proximity. Disillusioned in his mission to promote the Universal Church, Morgan's reaction was towards the satisfaction offered by the traditional prejudices he had disclaimed so vigorously whilst they had surrounded him in Britain. Colonial life had frustrated and diverted his positive religious drive just as British life had cloyed it with tradition.

John Morgan did not become interested in politics merely because of his colonial experience. Even before he had lived under any government other than that of Britain, he was intensely aware of political principles. His early judgments of the suitability for settlement of various colonies were made partly on economic reasons, yet largely on political or social considerations. When dismissing New Holland as unsuitable in his Emigrant's Notebook and Guide, he wrote that -

"trial by jury, that great foundation of the liberty of the subject secures to him the most valuable of his rights and privileges. This is a blessing which the emigrant to the colonies, to which I have just alluded, as well as to the Cape, is deprived and although there can be no doubt but that this and other privileges already enjoyed by the Canadians will be granted to all, in due time, still why should he subject himself, even for a moment to such privations and a military government? Why should the man who seeks not riches but great independence go four times the distance to a land principally inhabited by the very outcasts of society". 1

It would appear from this passage that he liked to think that economic considerations were secondary to social and political ones.

In 1824 Morgan fancied himself to be rather a Whig. He was a hater of British Tory power; he criticized the Ultra-Tories on every occasion possible. This does not mean that he was very dissatisfied with politics in Britain. In fact, he was serenely and uncritically confident that British law and British political institutions closely approached the ideal. Tory power was evil, but its effect was only a delaying one and ideal government was certain to be first achieved in

---

<sup>1</sup>Emigrant's Notebook, letter XII, p.299.

Britain. Britain was to serve as an exemplar to the rest of the world which would take longer to reach the perfect state. Outside Britain the nearest approach to this political condition was to be found in America. He wrote:-

"We are enthusiastic admirers of America, of its boundless forests, its magnificent inland seas, mountains, rapids, the splendid character of its public institutions - but above all - its LIBERTY - flowing from the PEOPLE". 2

He admired America for its theoretical constitution. But he abhorred what he felt to be incontrovertible defects in its practice. One of these was its countenancing of slavery, "that word which makes the heart turn sick".<sup>3</sup> Morgan quoted Dr. George Birkbeck to show that the "United States is not so pure or so free as they claim".<sup>4</sup> Of equal repugnance to him was the fact that America was no longer British; it was, in fact, a foreign state and he believed that this fact was enough to ensure that only a "very few would emigrate to the United States".<sup>5</sup> His loyalty to British nationality was very strong and it remained so throughout his life. It was because of this and his admiration for the idea of the United States that he was so enthusiastic about Canada for settlement. He believed other colonies were more conducive to quick riches but this fact was outweighed by Canada's having as much liberty, independence and comfort as the United States and being, at the same time, British.<sup>6</sup> In fact he set out to prove that it was even better than the United States as "riding the rail, gouging and rifling, with all the minor

---

<sup>2</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 17.5.39. <sup>5</sup> Emigrant's Notebook, letter V, p.73.  
<sup>3</sup> Emigrant's Notebook, letter III, p.31. <sup>6</sup> ibid  
<sup>4</sup> " " " V, p.76

etceteras of liberty and equality are altogether unknown".<sup>7</sup>

It is evident that Morgan had faith in some definite idea of liberty and equality. The political principles he thought so important were reflected, to a large extent, in the French Revolution and in American ideals yet it was the British interpretation of these which held his attention. His *vade mecum* was Sir William Blackstone's Commentories on the Laws of England from which he quoted frequently.

His favourite passage was on the rights of Englishmen:-

"these rights consist primarily in the free enjoyment of personal security, of personal liberty and of private property. So long as these remain inviolate the subject is perfectly free; for every species of compulsive tyranny and oppression must act in opposition to these rights".<sup>8</sup>

In Blackstone he found vindication for the action he later took to protect his rights as an Englishman:-

"to vindicate these rights when actually violated or attacked the subjects of England are entitled in the first place to the regular administration and free course of justice in the course of law; next to the right of petitioning the King and Parliament for redress of grievances and lastly to the right of having and using arms for self-preservation and defence. And all these rights and liberties it is our birthright to enjoy entire".<sup>9</sup>

The existence of such explicit statements of political creed had great effect in reinforcing ideas throughout Morgan's lifetime. Because the enthusiasm could be renewed by the reviewing of the principles, his political ideas show less obvious progression than his ideas on religion or society. He was just as likely to quote Blackstone in 1852 as he was in 1824. What was important in the

---

<sup>7</sup> Emigrant's Notebook, letter V, p.73.

<sup>8</sup> Britannia, 2.3.48.  
<sup>9</sup> ibid



changes in his outlook was, not the pure ideas, but the general system of values into which they were fitted, and the range of his interests to which they were applied. Morgan denied he was any more radical in 1847 than he had been in England; he said his ideas were nothing but British ideas<sup>10</sup> and this was largely true, yet when he made his decision to accept the hegemony of the government of a gaol colony he was leaving behind more of his British attitudes than he ever realized.

Morgan deliberately involved himself under the autocratic system of Government in the penal colony believing that "Government in any shape military or despotic is hostile to the feelings of Englishmen".<sup>11</sup> He weighed the obvious economic advantages of accepting the post in Van Diemen's Land against his repugnance, and his nice feelings were appeased only by his confidence that the inevitable liberal change was soon to take place in the colony.

Morgan's first editorial of 1839 showed the beginning of his realization that the process could be hastened by active participation, though at this time there was not the fear that it needed to be hastened. He wrote:-

"We profess to belong to that class of liberal Reformers who would preserve all that is good and abolish all that is bad without reference to the prejudices of olden times whether they be moral, religious or political." <sup>12</sup>

The colony had drawn Morgan into political activity, he had had no previous experience of this type of action. It does not seem as if he had been involved in public affairs at any time whilst he was in

<sup>10</sup> Britannia, 13.9.49.

<sup>11</sup> Emigrant's Notebook, letter III,  
p.31.

<sup>12</sup> Hobart Town Advertiser, 5.4.39.

Britain; his only public appearance had been in 1827 when he had received the freedom of the Borough of Swansea for saving a man from drowning.<sup>13</sup> Yet such was the effect of the small, comparatively volatile, society of Van Diemen's Land that he was drawn into active reform. This was because he felt that in the colony any part he took could be effective in hastening the movement towards liberal conditions. It was largely for this reason that he became involved with journalism. He claimed that the Press "has of late years not only enabled man in his individual capacity fearlessly to explore the page of human knowledge ... but to direct and influence the destinies of nations".<sup>14</sup> It is more than probable that, had he remained in Britain, Morgan would not have participated in politics to anything like the extent he did in Van Diemen's Land. He explains his concept of the process he was setting out to promote in an editorial of the Hobart Town Advertiser.

"We believe with those who think that the more enlightened, the more intelligent the People, the more secure, the more efficient will be the Government of any country provided it be founded upon just and proper principles and that if it is not so formed the sooner it is reformed ... the better".<sup>15</sup>

His writings at first set out to reform by increasing the enlightenment of the people via the provision of knowledge and by suggesting the correct course of action which would lead to good government.

This period of acting as a political savant only lasted out Morgan's editorship of the Hobart Town Advertiser. This newspaper had the stated policy of supporting the Franklin administration and Morgan's critical opinion of the general system of government was necessarily

<sup>13</sup> Humble Memorial

<sup>14</sup> Hobart Town Advertiser, 5.4.39.

<sup>15</sup> ibid

muted. Even so in one issue he could not refrain from deploring that at a recent session of the Legislative Council "no popular concessions have been made to the people".<sup>16</sup> At first he was clearly confident that such developments could be anticipated at any time. Hope of an early sign of the change was bolstered by the receipt in the colony of Lord Durham's report on Canada. Morgan thought the report was "public acknowledgment of their right to good government".<sup>17</sup> He expressed satisfaction with it and with the chagrin of the "Ultra Tory Party"<sup>18</sup> at it. He believed this represented the form of change which all the colonies could expect.

Unfortunately no corresponding progress could be discerned in Van Diemen's Land and during 1839 it is evident that his optimism was very quickly becoming discouraged. The inevitable progress was not only not fast enough; in fact, it did not seem to be taking place at all. Consequently Morgan's criticism of the existing situation became more bitter. To bring an end to the period of immoral rule, Morgan attempted to induce the unofficial members of the Legislative Council to resign<sup>19</sup> long before this gesture was made by the "Patriotic Six". He also protested against the Council's lack of honesty and truth and called it a mere official machine which toadied to Franklin's overbearing officialism.<sup>20</sup> This dissatisfaction was principally with the form of the colonial government and with its method of operating, but this was soon subsumed in a deeper and more immediate complaint. The Legislative Council, forced to seek revenue inside the Colony because of changes made in England in the financing

---

<sup>16</sup> Hobart Town Advertiser, 12.7.39.      <sup>19</sup> Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 21.8.40.  
<sup>17</sup> " " " 12.4.39.      <sup>20</sup> " " " 7.8.40.  
<sup>18</sup> ibid

of the convict establishment, attempted to levy taxes on the free colonists via a Road Act. This, besides being unwelcome in the colony, raised a constitutional issue. It is significant that in speaking out against this Morgan used the old cliché "No Taxation without Representation".<sup>21</sup> It was a principle which he was well aware had been decided before. The struggle for power now imminent in Van Diemen's Land was a renewed contest for advances already made in Britain, France and the United States. There was danger that all the progress of the nineteenth century would be lost due to British Tory short-sightedness and Colonial Government incompetence. Morgan's editorial fight for a just government bitterly restated all the old principles over again. He wrote, with thin patience, descriptions of the political advances which had been made since 1792 and noted that "the system of Government in the nations of Europe is evidently preparing for, or actually undergoing a great and eventful change",<sup>22</sup>

He contrasted this with the colonial government, which was not only static, but now seemed retrogressive. His argument was that whilst there existed no law which freed colonial citizens from the same obligations and privileges which they would have possessed in Britain,<sup>23</sup> contrary legislation made in the colony was mere expediency. The British Parliament remained the only legal taxing authority. The American colonists had, at Boston, similarly resisted attempts to treat them as if they did not have the privileges of their kinsmen who had remained in England and "this refusal was looked upon as little

---

<sup>21</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 30.10.40.      <sup>23</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch,  
<sup>22</sup>" " " 25.12.40.      26.2.41.

short of treason at the time" by the English Tories. Though people knew better than this in 1841, even so he thought there was "a remnant of the same tyrannical thinking here",<sup>24</sup> in Van Diemen's Land.

Drawn into a crusade for political rights Morgan showed his appreciation of its universal application by his efforts to promote international liberalism. He organized a "National Union Dinner" to which he invited all the Americans and Frenchmen he could find and at which, with Morgan in the presidential chair, toasts were called to "the cause of civil and religious liberty" and "to the memory of Washington and La Fayette".<sup>25</sup> From similar motives he criticized any imperialism undertaken for reasons other than for the extension of liberal ideas. Britain had a right to expand, to be an educator for the world but not for any other reasons.<sup>26</sup> Consequently he criticized British expansion in China and in India.<sup>27</sup> When British armies attacked the forces of Mehemet Ali in Syria and Egypt Morgan saw this action against a man (who, in Morgan's opinion, as a "Liberal" ought to be inviolate) as an indication of lingering Tory monarchism. "The rage for conquest we had hoped had had its fashion and its day but it seems that England is still deficient of that expanded mind, of that heart which should embrace the universe ... We regret the British Flag which ought to be the unsullied emblem of liberty should have been unfurled in anger against the Egyptians!"<sup>28</sup>

It was not Britain that was basically at fault, of course, but only the Ultra-Tory faction<sup>29</sup> which still controlled her. Morgan

---

<sup>24</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 26.2.41. <sup>27</sup>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch, 22.5.40.  
<sup>25</sup>" " " 24.1.40. <sup>28</sup>" " " 19.3.41.  
<sup>26</sup>" " " 16.4.41. <sup>29</sup>ibid

believed that it was this same perverted power which was causing Colonial Office and local government misrule. The antidote to it was to bind the colonies even more closely to the heart of British institutions which were so strong as to be beyond manipulation by one selfish faction.

"By every act by which we even appear to forget our British origin, our British connection we lower the standard of our claims for British laws and British justice. It appears to us that we cannot too closely and affectionately cling in every way and by every means to that land which must for years to come be the source to us of all we have to look to as respects our advancement as a people. As British subjects we are entitled to British institutions and none other without protest and remonstrances ought we to acknowledge." 30

This was the professed method, this insisting upon the unity of colonial and British constitutions, by which he undertook to halt the lapse of the colony into that rule by "Divine Right"<sup>31</sup> which he thought an archaic form of government. He had complete confidence in the result - "Truth will ride triumphantly over sophistry and statecraft".<sup>32</sup>

Too frequently during his campaign to promote political morality in the colony Morgan did not consider what was expedient in his insistence upon the pure principle of justice. He sought to use his newspapers to organize public opinion against every measure which he felt transgressed universal political principles. He was by no means alone in this activity and most of his propaganda fell upon willing ears. For a few years at least this cause made his newspaper popular and respected.<sup>33</sup>

<sup>30</sup> Britannia, 1.1.46.

<sup>31</sup> " " 5.2.46.

<sup>32</sup> Britannia, 29.1.46.

<sup>33</sup> Irish Exile, 8.3.51.

In 1846 Morgan formed a petition to the effect that the Legislative Council should not declare null an English Law as to do this would involve transgressing the "Magna Charta, the Bill of Rights and the various enactments of the Imperial Parliament".<sup>34</sup> The Council had attempted to waive an act of James I relating to Titles to Land. The petition was signed by 240 people after a public meeting. This success gave him confidence to call a meeting at Mezger's store to arrange a "monster meeting" to oppose the Dog Act and, by the same principle, six other similar acts. "This Dog Act will do great service to the cause"<sup>35</sup> he said in that week's editorial. He considered that the licenses for dogs were, in fact, a revenue raising tax and that the title - "An Act to Restrict Dogs" was a mere cover for this. He was clear headed enough to see that such a simple tax could be most easily opposed whilst it still involved all the essential principles which were at stake.

Morgan called two further meetings in 1846 and their success bolstered his confidence. In a truculent mood he published a letter to the Chief Police Magistrate to announce he had no intention of licensing his three dogs unless compelled to by "process of law";<sup>36</sup> he claimed that his sole aim was to stop the "encroachment of arbitrary authority".<sup>37</sup> The Colonial Government avoided the issue as much as possible but eventually was forced into instituting legal proceedings against Morgan and he was summonsed on two counts of not licensing his dogs. Morgan prayed that it should be treated as a test case. He was on top of his world, offering advice to all

<sup>34</sup>Britannia, 13.8.46.  
<sup>35</sup>" " 10.9.46.

<sup>36</sup>Britannia, 2.9.47.  
<sup>37</sup>ibid

colonists on each and every political point. He claimed that Van Diemen's Land was a police state and he demanded - "we desire British Law - let us have it - we desire British justice - the time has gone by when it can be denied".<sup>38</sup> He refused to pay the Hobart City rate because the Government was financing the City Commission out of the Dog Tax Fund.<sup>39</sup> He referred to the colony as being in a state of moral leprosy<sup>40</sup> and claimed that it was the duty of all colonists to oppose laws by legal methods - "a duty we all owe to the society in which we live."<sup>41</sup> He was proud of his effort to "stay one of the vilest attempts at arbitrary power ever known in Van Diemen's Land,"<sup>42</sup> and likened himself to the "great fathers of the American nation, who declared they never would be taxed without their consent".<sup>43</sup>

Yet even at the height of Morgan's success his temperament seemed unsuited to the constant pressure and self-discipline needed to hold the attention of the public and he lapsed into occasional periods of self-pity or tirades against the lack of sympathy shown by his fellow men. "Toilsome, wearisome, disgusting occasionally is the labour of the man whose duty it is to keep the public mind awake to a sense of danger" lest they "basely betray the rights conveyed to us by our forefathers and disgrace the nation from which we had our origin".<sup>44</sup> He wrote several times that he wondered if the self-sacrifice was worth the effort. Yet after many months his appeal to the Supreme Court was successful and the Dog Act was

---

<sup>38</sup> Britannia, 15.10.46.  
<sup>39</sup> " 31.12.46.  
<sup>40</sup> " 2.9.47.  
<sup>41</sup> " 4.11.47.

---

<sup>42</sup> Britannia, 11.11.47.  
<sup>43</sup> " 14.10.47.  
<sup>44</sup> " 18.11.47.



declared repugnant to the laws of England.<sup>45</sup> His appeal for damages against the bailiffs who had removed his property to pay the fine was, in principle, also successful.<sup>46</sup>

After the victory Morgan was elated for a while:-

"We openly acknowledge the gratification of having forced onward the cause of rational liberty in this ... the worst governed colony of the British Empire ... We have resisted that spirit of despotism which dictated the attempt to raise money by the medium of the tax upon dogs and so long as the Great Author of our being enables us to draw conclusions from years of varied experience, so long shall we continue to offer a similar resistance to every act of arbitrary power." 47

Despite this he was not anxious to continue in the role. He had acted because "Circumstances have thrown us into the position of a public writer and politician"<sup>48</sup> and he suggested that a Reform Association be formed to take over this work now that he had applied "the wedge".<sup>49</sup>

There was little sign at this period of the quiet confidence Morgan had held in the future of liberty. Endowed with a mission to actively promote good government, his editorials contained reference after reference to controversial political issues in the colony. He received letters from the public as a champion of their rights<sup>50</sup> and at times he believed this to be true. In the early months of 1848 he had delusions that he lived in a heroic age similar to that of the late eighteenth century. "We must meet the Government step by step - by a concentrated power. A glorious triumph for the Colony and right principles are /sic/before us".<sup>51</sup> He likened Lieutenant Governor Denison to Louis XIV and raised the scare in Hobart Town

<sup>45</sup> Britannia, 2.12.47.  
<sup>46</sup> " 30.3.48.  
<sup>47</sup> " 2.12.47.  
<sup>48</sup> " 30.12.47.

<sup>49</sup> Britannia, 13.1.48.  
<sup>50</sup> " 23.12.47.  
<sup>51</sup> " 20.1.48.

that the government was mobilizing troops to prevent a public meeting.<sup>52</sup> At the meeting, which was to protest against the action taken by the Governor against the Judiciary following the Dog Act decision, John Morgan suggested that a standing committee be elected to protect the interests of the public against the threat of arbitrary power being forced onward by the two regiments of troops and a detachment of police which were at that moment standing at the ready.<sup>53</sup> He was, in fact, proposing a sort of Committee of Public Safety but his attempt fell flat; several of the gentlemen present at the meeting spoke up in objection to the proposal and Morgan was laughed at by the colonists.<sup>54</sup> Later he more quietly began a Van Diemen's Land Protective Association<sup>55</sup> but it too came to nothing.

During February 1848, the Legislative Council, having passed an act to validate any acts rendered doubtful by the Dog Act decision, Morgan desperately tried to whip up public enthusiasm to oppose it. "The free colonists are now slaves", he said, "justice is offered up at the Shrine of Arbitrary Power".<sup>56</sup> The Dog Act had been similar to the Stamp Act in America, the Validating Act was like the Declaratory Act binding America to Britain. The result of that Act had been revolt and he considered that only the small numbers of colonists prevented the same result in Van Diemen's Land.<sup>57</sup>

This was the most extreme political position reached by John Morgan. For about a year he toyed with thoughts of republicanism.

---

<sup>52</sup> Britannia, 3.2.48.

<sup>53</sup> " 27.1.48.

<sup>54</sup> " 3.2.48.

<sup>55</sup> Britannia, 3.2.48.

<sup>56</sup> " 10.2.48.

<sup>57</sup> *ibid*

Despite this, his basic political ideas had made little progress since 1824. These ideas were not startling and new in 1848; rather they were the echoes of the years of his youth, the ideas of the turn of the century. The European revolutionaries of 1848 would have seen him as an outdated Whig. His complete answer to contemporary radical agitation in Britain was, "Cut down the shameful extravagances of the Court and of the Court pensions, abolish the connection between Church and State, the coalition being mutually prejudicial and anti-scriptural, let the working classes feel they are not robbed under the pretence of protection and all will be well".<sup>58</sup> The claims made by the 1848 revolutionaries were too extreme for him to accept. He admitted he had at first rejoiced at political changes occurring during that year but, on reflection, he felt constrained to ask "was it the light of pure liberty which the fire of that revolution produced?"<sup>59</sup> He was not such a radical as he sometimes fancied; liberty had to be his sort of liberty.

Morgan never really considered himself as anything but normally sensible and patriotic. He resented being called a "defier of laws" and "forgetful of the duties owing to society"<sup>60</sup> and quoted Lord Stanley to prove his integrity. Lord Stanley had said in a speech to Parliament "Beware how you raise in the colonies that spirit which I trust will never but exist in all the colonies which boast ... of British origin".<sup>61</sup> Morgan claimed that "the spirit above alluded to

---

<sup>58</sup> Britannia, 10.10.48.  
<sup>59</sup> " 1.11.49.

<sup>60</sup> Britannia, 2.3.48.  
<sup>61</sup> ibid

as essential to the preservation of public liberality has influenced us in that resistance and it now activates our conduct".<sup>62</sup>

Morgan continued to maintain his crusade to the best of his ability; he had the strength to admit that a new dog tax was valid as it did not run counter to any British law. Yet much of his self-assurance faded, his editorials became less convincing and he received far less attention from his fellow colonists. He organized another monster meeting in July 1848 to protest against a new act to impose turnpikes. The turnpike tolls he thought to be contrary to British justice as all travellers would be taxed by it and that such tax would either be placed into general funds, whereby it would not be a local tax and would be contrary to the Huskisson Act, or it would be put to a local use when travellers not resident locally would be being taxed unjustly. At 3 p.m., the appointed time for the meeting, the Advertiser reported five people present.<sup>63</sup> Hobart Town had a good laugh at John Morgan's expense. He was coming to be an object of derision, not of glory, to the colonists. Morgan wrote out a petition against the tolls and turnpikes and left it in a prominent place to be signed - it gained one signature and that probably his own.<sup>64</sup> The wording of this petition displays Morgan's lack of confidence. "He earnestly desires to avoid being placed in the meantime and as a private individual and as a member of the public press in an antagonistic position with the local

---

<sup>62</sup> Britannia, 2.3.48.

<sup>63</sup> Advertiser, 1.8.48.

<sup>64</sup> Britannia, 3.8.48.

government but that he cannot with consistency submit without protest to the provisions of any proclamation not founded on constitutional rights".

Morgan organized no more public meetings. The colonists had lost interest in the immediate struggle since in 1848 Earl Grey had agreed in principle to the granting of self-government to Van Diemen's Land. Morgan in contrast always believed that principles could not just be put off or put right in a piecemeal fashion, they always held good and required immediate gratification.<sup>65</sup> He railed against colonial apathy and valiantly persisted in his cause. "We made another effort last week to rouse the colonists of Van Diemen's Land to a sense of the despotism before which they are at present prostrated".<sup>66</sup> Yet he may as well have saved his pen, his Dog Act test case was a success for his principles but a failure to his colonial image. He did not have the personal stature to successfully carry off the role of a paternal political guardian.

Even so, though Morgan did not realize it, the years had brought a change to his own attitudes. The overt principles were not different, but in the later years there is less mention of the British identity of the colonists, there is more concern with the day to day practical affairs. His horizon moved from a British to a colonial centred one. Like most colonists, his thoughts had been concentrated on the past and on the distant ideal rather than on the sordid present of colonial life. In 1849 the past grew more hazy,

---

<sup>65</sup>Municipal Act

<sup>66</sup>Britannia, 8.2.49.

the future began to contract to a nearer colonial future. The years of dismay at the bungling of the Colonial Office had sapped his old confidence in anything that was liberal and British. Colonial Office misrule came to be blamed for most of the dissatisfaction - "From every nook and corner of the British colonial possessions are heard loud grumblings of discontent and declarations anything but peaceful".<sup>67</sup> He began to be concerned with a world-wide movement of colonies towards self-government as the way his idea of the spread of liberal principles would be realized. This was no change from his old concept of general liberal progress but there was his new preoccupation with colonial liberty and particularly with the future status of Van Diemen's Land.

Morgan's ideals were being centred in the future constitution of the colony. Even he was beginning to speculate about the best form of government when self-government would eventually be gained. He felt that Denison would have to go, he could not remain as a symbol of despotism.<sup>68</sup> Denison's proposals for an Upper House appointed for life were an attempt to retain an oligarchy instead of the true democracy.<sup>69</sup> Morgan's own ideal constitution was to be as near the United States pattern as possible with a completely elected assembly on a £20 franchise. The Upper House, he thought, should be eventually elected separately by the people<sup>70</sup> or perhaps better if one third nominated.<sup>71</sup> He never had any real sympathy with universal suffrage though he called his own ideas "universal suffrage

---

<sup>67</sup> Britannia, 22.3.49.

<sup>68</sup> " 10.5.49.

<sup>69</sup> " 4.10.49.

<sup>70</sup> Britannia, 13.6.50.

<sup>71</sup> " 24.10.50.

carried out upon principles"<sup>72</sup> which, of course, meant limited to those he thought were ready to be trusted with the vote.

During 1850 Morgan's anti-transportation activities took most of his attention; these would rid the colony of the incubus which in practice prohibited free institutions. The transportation issue had to be decided before any further political advance was possible. When it began to seem that no more convicts would really land and that free institutions could actually be expected he at last thought it pointless to continue his reforms,<sup>73</sup> a point of view his fellow colonists had long since reached. Instead he joyfully turned to the hope of the future. In the months before the details of the new Bill arrived he was organizing a committee to arrange public celebrations. He suggested a public holiday, a dinner at 5/- per head, a peal of bells and salute of 100 guns, shops and homes would be decorated and children's mementoes would be distributed. He got down to details of whom he would support as representatives and began to join in the promotion campaign for the forthcoming elections long before the date was even thought of.

Morgan's editorials end in 1850 with him preoccupied with local politics. The Act for the Better Government of Her Majesty's Australian Colonies was received in late November and he paid it grudging approval; the single house one third nominated would make it susceptible to official pressure<sup>74</sup> whereas his own proposals would give control to the middle classes. He had to wait six more years to see this middle class control achieved, but by that time he was

<sup>72</sup>Britannia, 10.10.50.  
<sup>73</sup>" 27.9.49.

<sup>74</sup>Britannia, 28.11.50.

growing old and though he could still be petulant and critical about political rights or wrongs, he leaves the impression that this was a younger generation's task, his wedge had been applied.

Wide hopes of the liberal millenium brought into the colony in 1834 had been lost in the day-to-day struggles for satisfactory government. Success in political principles, bought at great cost of effort, had held little satisfaction in the long run. One principle sustained, one stroke for freedom had been lost in the mass of apathy and greed. Disillusionment in political principles had coincided with a dimming of the sense of reality in the importance of politics outside Van Diemen's Land. The immediate colonial scene grew ever more real and absorbing as the years passed. The Englishman was becoming a Tasmanian.



At the beginning of this essay two questions were framed. What was the process by which immigrants developed characteristic attitudes, and how were the attitudes at variance with those in contemporary Britain? If this paper has in any way answered these questions the interpretation cannot be taken to apply to any other person than John Morgan himself. No man is really typical of others and the system of beliefs and values which died with John Morgan in 1866 was as much the product of his advancing years and his personal fortunes as it was due to the influence of colonial society. He was one emigrant who did not achieve greater material success than he could have expected at home and this coloured all his views. Yet it is of value to know a great deal about one colonist as perhaps thereby we can know a little more about all of them.

The division of Morgan's life experience into three separate compartments is arbitrary even if we do have his own precedent for this concept. The only justification is that it makes the task of description so much the easier and has enabled each chapter to be used to point out a slightly different facet of his developing attitudes. The conclusions reached in each chapter are intended to be complementary. By 1850 the social Morgan is shown to be retreating from the volatile class divisions he had longed for and to be entrenching himself in a definite stratum of society; the religious Morgan is denying his earlier universalism and is adopting the intolerant mantle of English precedence; the political Morgan is forgetting the realities of British life but is still using his old clichés, now to carry forward narrower colonial interests. These

trends were not restricted to the compartment of life to which they have been here ascribed and re-integration of compartments and of trends of ideas shows the man becoming possessed by insular concerns yet dreaming more and more of an increasingly idealized homeland.

John Morgan's basic ideas were formed during the first forty years of his life whilst he was a run-of-the-mill Englishman. Had he remained in Britain his deeply liberal attitudes need never have been brought into question. This must indeed have been the case with most of his contemporaries who stayed at home. The different conditions in Van Diemen's Land drew Morgan's aspirations into open activity. For most of the 1840's his scale of values was scarcely changed and his activities were all that could be expected of that sort of an Englishman in that particular situation. The contention is that during the period in which Denison described Van Diemen's Land society to Earl Grey, this was essentially true. The Morgan who had attracted so much attention by opposing the Dog Act was not more radical nor more democratic than can be explained by his English sense of values operating in the colonial situation. The particular conditions in Van Diemen's Land at that time meant that this Englishman expressed his principles against the interests of an executive which was essentially hostile to them and in a society where the reverberations of that expression rang very loudly. To claim the rights of Englishmen in the penal colony was a bold and daring step. Morgan's radicalism lay in his slavish (one might almost say conservative) adherence to those rights and not to anything new or startling in the colonial attitude.

But eventually the reality of colonial experience did gradually modify Morgan's ideas. This was a slow development and was only becoming really apparent in the 1850's and this despite the intransigence of his language which calls many ideas the same which are slowly changing in meaning. As could be expected, the colonial Morgan differed from the English Morgan by being more insular and local in his interests and in the horizon of his value judgments. He also became set in a more rigid pattern, the limits of which were determined by local conditions. That is to say, he not only became more narrow minded in his own attitudes, but his status vis a vis his neighbours, as they considered him and from which he operated, became more settled after the few volatile years. This may have been neither more nor less rigid than his status would have been in Britain; the essential point is that it was a different colonial status without exact counterpart in Britain.

Not the least of a contemporary Englishman's interests in a colonial would have been what his attitude was towards England. He may have been surprised to learn that on the surface, if Morgan was loyal in 1829, he was more loyal in 1850; if he was, at heart, an English Protestant in 1829, he was much more so in 1850; if he was inclined to treat English traditions with levity in 1829, he was far more their slave in 1850. This was so because the foundation of idealistic myths upon which Morgan's system of ideas was based changed from that of an Englishman looking out, with contempt for the familiar, to that of an Englishman looking back with absence making

the ideals seem brighter. The overt loyalty of an old colonist could seem to outshine that of new immigrants.

Finally John Morgan's attitudes must call into question the truth of Lieutenant Governor Denison's more detailed indictment of the general character of his subjects. Of all the colonists, at least Morgan, from amongst them, cannot be said to have been obsessed with the idea of wealth or to only value an elite of the materially successful. Moreover, if he did possess a certain oratorical facility it was not at the expense of his judgement nor of the justness of the opinions he advocated. If any comment of his could be used to describe his general attitude to life it was one made to his colleagues of the anti-transportation movement:-

"Fellow Abolitionists", he wrote, "Adopt High Principles".<sup>1</sup> Morgan's principles certainly were unpopular with Denison because they made life uncomfortable for the Lieutenant Governor. Yet Denison seriously underestimated the integrity of the motives of this one colonist at least. It would lead to the suggestion that Denison knew the colonist's feelings less well than he thought he did.

---

<sup>1</sup>Britannia, 25.4.50.

(i) Unpublished Primary Sources

All at Tasmanian State Archives.

Colonial Secretary's Office Correspondence Records  
Chief Secretary's Department Correspondence Records  
Lands and Surveys Department Correspondence Records  
Lieutenant Governor's Office Inward Despatches  
Microfilm of Public Records Office, CO.323  
House of Assembly Journals  
Marine Board Hobart Reports of Ships' arrivals

(ii) Published Primary Sources

(a) Newspapers in Tasmanian State Archives

<u>Austral Asiatic Review</u>	<u>Mercury</u>
<u>Bent's News</u>	<u>Morning Advertiser and Colonial</u>
<u>Britannia and Trades Advocate</u>	<u>Maritime Journal</u>
<u>Colonial Times</u>	<u>Tasmanian</u>
<u>Guardian</u>	<u>Tasmanian Morning Herald</u>
<u>Hobart Town Courier</u>	<u>Tasmanian Weekly Despatch</u>
<u>Hobart Town Advertiser</u>	<u>True Colonist</u>
<u>Irish Exile</u>	

(b) Books and Pamphlets

G.T.W.B. Boyes, Diaries, Typewritten copy Tas.State Archives  
H.M.Hull, Experience of Forty Years in Tasmania, London 1859.  
H.Melville, The History of Van Diemen's Land, Hbt.1835, (ed. by  
G. Mackaness, Sydney, 1959.)  
J. Morgan, Emigrant's Notebook and Guide with Recollections of  
Upper and Lower Canada during the late War, London 1824.  
J. Morgan, Licensed Victualler's Directory, Hbt.1840.  
" " " " " 1847  
" Give Us Light, Hbt.1850.  
" Humble Memorial of John Morgan, Hbt.1852.  
" Laws, Rules & Regulations of the Licensed Victualler's  
Society, Hbt. n.d.  
" Life and Adventures of William Buckley, Hbt.1852.  
" The Municipal Act, Hbt.1852.  
" The Wreath - a Gardener's Manual, Hbt.1855.  
J. Roberts, Religion and Society in Tasmania in 1857/58, Hbt.1858

(iii) Unpublished Secondary Sources

- . M.A. Theses held at the University of Tasmania
- B.M.Hamilton (Richmond), Some Aspects of the History of Transportation and Immigration in Van Diemen's Land 1824-1855, Hbt.1956.
- A.Rand (McKay), The Assignment System of Convict Labour in Van Diemen's Land 1824-1842, Hbt.1958.
- W.A.Townsley, Chapters in Tasmanian Constitutional and Administrative History 1842-1856, Hbt.1951.

Manuscript of Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University

O.M. Roe, Life and Thought in Eastern Australia 1830-1850, Canberra

(iv) Published Secondary Sources

## (a) Articles

- F.C.Green, "Heroes in the fight for Responsible Government", Tas.Hist.Res.Ass.P.&P., vol.6,no.1, May 1957, pp.17-23.
- B.M.Hamilton, "John West and the Anti-Transportation Movement", Tas.Hist.Res.Ass.P.&P., vol.2,no.1, Nov.1952, pp.7-11.
- R.M.Hartwell, "Van Diemen's Land Government and the Depression of the 1840's", Hist.Studies A.& N.Z., vol.4,No.15, Nov.1950, pp.185-199.
- E.M.Miller, "A Historical Summary of Tasmanian Newspapers", Tas.Hist.Res.Ass.P.&P., vol.2,no.1, Nov.1952, pp.17-21.  
no.2, May 1953, pp.34-39.
- G.H.Nadel, "Studies in Thought", Hist.Studies A.& N.Z., vol.7, no.26, May 1956, pp.160-178.
- J.M.Ward, "British Federal Policy in Australia 1847-48 with emphasis on Tasmania", Tas.Hist.Res.Ass.P.&P., vol.2,no.3, May 1953, pp.45-53.

## (b) Books

- Geo.Bennett (ed), The Concept of Empire Burke to Attlee 1774-1947, London 1962.
- Jas.Bonwick, Early Struggles of the Australian Press, London 1890
- A.Bullock & M. Shock (eds.), The Liberal Tradition from Fox to Keynes, London 1956.
- S.J.Butlin, Foundations of the Australian Monetary System 1788-1851, Melb.1953.
- Sir.H.Colebatch, A Story of a Hundred Years, Perth 1929.
- I.Crowley, Australia's Western Third, London 1960.
- J. Fenton, A History of Tasmania from its discovery in 1642 to the present time, Hbt.1884.
- K. Fitzpatrick, Sir John Franklin in Tasmania, Melb.1949.

- R.W.Giblin, Early History of Tasmania, vol.I, London 1928.  
vol.II, Melb.1939.
- F.C.Green (ed), A Century of Responsible Government 1856-1956,  
Hbt.1956.
- S.MacCoby, The English Radical Tradition 1763-1914, London 1952.
- E.M.Miller, Pressmen and Governors ; Australian editors and  
writers in early Tasmania, Sydney 1952.
- G.H.Nadel, Australia's Colonial Culture, Melb.1957.
- E.O'Brien, The Life and Letters of Archpriest John Joseph Therry,  
Sydney 1922
- L.L.Robson, Press and Politics; a Study of Elections and Political  
Issues in Tasmania in 1856, Hbt.1954.
- W.A.Townsley, The Struggle for Self Government in Tasmania  
1842-1856, Hbt.1951.
- John West, A History of Tasmania, vols.I, II, Launceston 1852.